



JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-017

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15 MARCH 1989

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**Novgorod Obkom Plenum Objectively Assessed,
First Secretary Re-Elected**

18000398 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by T. Yakhlakova, special correspondent of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, Novgorod: "When Experience Prevents"]

[Text] People are tired of idle talk. Now in Novgorod, at the oblast report-back election party conference, the audience politely, but emphatically, stopped speakers who abused common reasoning. And it extended the allotted time to those who spoke to the point.

I was literally torn between the hall and the "direct telephone." Its number was announced in newspapers so that people could call the conference with remarks and suggestions.

The following question was heard with an enviable constancy in the receiver: Will coupons for meat and butter be introduced finally? One after the other enterprises warned: We are idle owing to the fuel shortage and we disrupt deliveries. With a considerable grain of sarcasm people were interested in the following: To where do workers of oblast organizations move in connection with the reduction in the managerial apparatus?

A "free microphone"—a splendid invention of glasnost—was installed in the hall. It was to be hoped that it would also be a catalyst there: It would give a new perspective to the problem and would suggest an idea. I prepared myself to write down the statements from the floor with special attention.

People listened captiously to the accountability report presented by I. Nikulin, first secretary of the obkom, and made notes in notebooks. It discussed more what could not be done during the period under review. The achievements were not raised to the rank of victory. Nevertheless, many people considered it too calm ("boring," as one of the speakers noted). This was offensive. The report was prepared carefully and discussed in organizations. Therefore, in his concluding remarks the first secretary commented dryly: "A report is not a novel." That is so. However, a jealous defense is hardly needed. After all, not only fiction holds attention. Yes, it is not easy to get used to criticism, even if one sincerely advocates glasnost.

The debate made many hem and haw. Ordinary "individual shortcomings" gave way to specific facts and names flashing in every speech. Criticism did not retreat even in the face of obkom secretaries—who could have imagined this about 3 years ago? It was interesting to see live faces and to hear live words... But something prevented an unconditional acceptance of this mood.

Every speech began with the same preamble: Are the changes in the activity of the oblast party committee noticeable? Do they correspond to the spirit of the times, to the spirit of restructuring? The evaluations ranged from "there are positive shifts, but..." to a categorical (although infrequent) "no."

The fact that for the first time the composition of elective bodies was formed without pressure or an order was noted as an unquestionable achievement. Every third party group organizer, almost one-half of the secretaries of shop party organizations, and one-third of the secretaries of primary party organizations were elected on a competitive basis from two candidacies and more. Next, however, delegates began to argue with the report.

Did the obkom begin to request less information from raykoms and gorkoms? Written information, possibly, but oral and telephone information, more. Did its workers begin to visit enterprises and farms more frequently? Yes, but they continue to limit themselves to meetings with the management and do not establish direct contacts with people.

Were more rights granted to primary organizations? But secretaries of party committees, as before, are appointed at three levels—in the raykom, gorkom, and obkom... Moreover, the speakers said, the competitiveness of elections did not rise above the level of primary organizations. Alternative candidacies of second-third secretaries were put forward only in three raykoms.

However, at whom was the last reproach directed? Is the obkom to blame for the fact that in the entire oblast there were only three attempts to manifest initiative? Democracy requires decisiveness from below, not authorization from above. When "from above," this is called something else, that is, command-administrative pressure, which all of us fight so zealously today. The trouble lies only in the fact that, at the same time, we consider ourselves its victims, not support. What happens? The obkom requests information, which it should not request. The raykom gives it without complaining, but, when the opportunity presents itself, accuses the superior body of "administrative pressure." The former exceeds its authority and the latter, pardon me, curries favor with it, which is the most favorable ground for command methods.

Criticism directed outside—this is what prevented an unconditional acceptance of the atmosphere prevailing at the conference as a gratifying mark of the times. As long as we search for the "apostles of stagnation" elsewhere, not glancing at ourselves, democracy will not take a single step forward. It is dangerous to think that the old resists the new in the form of a specific institution or person. Probably, this also happens, but here the opponent is in the public eye. It is much more difficult to

discern another type of resistance: practice and habit acquired over a period of years, which can lead only to familiar paths. All this lies in each of us.

At the height of the debate my neighbor to the left muttered with irritation: "Stagnation in the spirit of glasnost..." This caustic phrase, undoubtedly unfair, if we have a specific situation in mind, nevertheless, is true in principle: Glasnost is not yet restructuring. It is marvelous that it has become possible to openly talk about what is painful and to criticize regardless of the persons. However, criticism becomes constructive when it rises to the level of analysis. But previous experience lets us down here.

Analysis requires reliable information, but it was either suppressed or falsified. Finally, however, information became accessible and it turned out that the ability to weigh, compare, and even simply sort it out was lost... The report by the Novgorod Obkom gives a complete picture, but the chief thing—priority of the tasks, without which a purposeful program of actions is inconceivable—has drowned in the pile of problems covered by it.

Here, in Novgorod Oblast, all the troubles of the non-chernozem zone with its neglected agriculture, depopulated villages, a lack of good roads, and a wretched social infrastructure have become intertwined into a tight maze.

"The population in the rayon annually decreases by 2 or 3 percent. People leave basically because of poorly organized domestic conditions. Housing, roads, and public services and amenities are needed urgently" (I. Ivanov, excavator operator, Volotovskiy Rayon). "The construction of a school, a trade center, and a number of other social projects was projected on the sovkhoz as long ago as for the 10th Five-Year Plan. We are in the second half of the 12th Five-Year Plan, but as yet nothing has been built here" (V. Trishin, secretary of the party committee on the Zaytsevskiy Sovkhoz, Krestetskiy Rayon). "The food problem is now the most acute problem. Look at store counters—they are empty" (N. Zheleznyakov, electrician at the Starorusribor Plant). "In the oblast there are now more than 60,000 families in line for improved housing conditions" (from the accountability report).

An attempt is made to pull all the threads at once: In addition to the state programs "Roads of the Nonchernozem Zone" and "Gas of the Nonchernozem Zone," the oblast carries out its own local programs—"Agroprom-90," "Efficiency-90," "Housing-2000," "Health," and "Culture." However, as V. Tulkin, first secretary of the Borovichskiy Raykom, noted correctly, are they of much use if they are not backed by material resources? The planned targets are changed annually and people no longer take these programs seriously.

The capacities of the oblast's construction organizations are obviously insufficient. The report noted that every third construction organization did not cope with planned assignments and the length of construction of some projects reached 20 years. How to correlate needs and capabilities under such conditions?

Unfortunately, the thought expressed by V. Tulkin was not developed. Of course, out of the large number of equally burning tasks it is difficult, very difficult, to single out the paramount task. However, not to do this means to doom all of them to insolvability.

However, what does "to single out" mean? To name, as is customary, the "most important"? Or the "chief"? To give more time and place in the report? Or, nevertheless, to compare with others, to consider which of the primary tasks should (cannot, but should) be foregone, and to discuss this matter honestly and openly?

Because this did not happen, the debate followed, I would say, the line of personal interest. Lessees championed their interests, cooperative workers, theirs, and builders, librarians, and teachers put forward their own demands. Almost every speech contained a grain of rationality, but the speeches did not form a general program. It seemed that the delegates, happy about the opportunity to express themselves, forgot that the conference should solve strategic, not tactical, problems. Apparently, the habit of using the rostrum for self-reports, not for analysis, was also reflected there. Only before they were ceremonial, but now have become critical. And the result? Sore spots were indicated—what is next?

Many important questions were up in the air, because an attempt was not made to find an answer to them.

Old experience is a bad adviser in new matters. The "free microphone" did not live up to my expectations. Probably, the organizers of this conference were afraid that the audience, as before, would be inert and, therefore, saw to it in advance that it would not keep silent. Speeches from the floor (with one exception) were planned in advance. Of course, no one edited them—these are not such times. However, the program's assignment gave itself away both by the even and proportional replaceability of orators at the rostrum and in the hall and by the inevitable slips, when a speech by a library worker was suddenly wedged into the talk about leasing. These notes rehearsed by previous experience deprived the voice of the "free microphone" of naturalness.

The "direct telephone" brought disappointment to the callers. Their questions did not reach the conference delegates. The daily routine was so tightly scheduled that it did not leave a free moment. As the obkom assured me, the entire information received on that day will be studied carefully and people will receive an answer through the newspaper. I have no doubt that this will happen. But why "direct communication" was needed

precisely on that day if it was clear in advance that obkom workers, not delegates, will have to answer the inquiries? Was it not better to do this about 2 weeks before the conference and in the accountability report to analyze the received suggestions and to compare one's own evaluations with those of the oblast's residents?

These are not at all trifles, as may seem at first glance. Each time creates its own slogans and characteristics, which live and operate only as long as they correspond to the goal they serve.

However, with all the miscalculations one thing made the conference unconditionally interesting—the polarity of views. It is useful, it gives food for thought, and it teaches how to compare and analyze. It is interesting to compare how the delegates themselves evaluated the conference. Those that remembered the experience of previous conferences spoke highly of this one: It was business-like, open, and self-critical. But those who were elected delegates for the first time stated the opposite, pronouncing a strict verdict: It did not meet the spirit of restructuring. In my opinion, both views should gladden us. The former points to good changes in the work of the oblast party organization and the latter, to the fact that our evaluations have become stricter. The 19th All-Union Party Conference raised the reference point to a new level and in no way can we lower it if we are to carry out restructuring seriously.

I. Nikulin was again elected first secretary at the organizational plenum of the Novgorod Obkom.

New Estonian CC Ideology Secretary Interviewed
18000355 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 9 Dec 88 p 2

[Interview with M. Titma, secretary for Ideology of the Estonian CP Central Committee, by F. Kaazik, on occasion of Titma's appointment to the post]

[Text] On the last day of work of the 9th session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee V. Vyalyas familiarized deputies with the results of the plenum of the Estonian CP Central Committee and presented M. Titma, the new Central Committee Secretary for Ideology.

Right there, at the session, after voting on the question of the status of the Estonian language, M. Titma, now in his new position, had to withstand his first attack by journalists and respond to questions from correspondents of Estonian radio and ETA.

[Kaazik] After the decisions of the ESSR Supreme Soviet on the question of language, what in your opinion will be the course of affairs in the field of ideology?

[Titma] We often attach too much importance to decisions. After all, if there are no realistic guarantees the decision will remain simply on paper. That is why such

an over-reaction by the Russian-speaking population and the fear that if Estonian becomes the state language something terrible will happen are completely unjustified. It is a different thing that it is extremely important for Estonians, above all from the standpoint of national self-awareness and dignity, to live in their own land and have their own language as the state language.

Work in the future will apparently have to consist of relieving the tension caused by the draft Language Law. And this is mainly everyday work, analyzing how particular institutions and groups of employees begin actually switching to use of the Estonian language. We are talking here about language as a component part of vocational skills. I think that in certain spheres of life and certain institutions the Estonian language should be mandatory. For example, in the party apparatus we are going to follow strictly the principle that after a certain time a person will either master Estonian or leave party work. After all, we follow the same principle concerning mastery of Russian for party workers and members of the apparatus who are Estonians. And it is likely that later this principle will be applied to selected positions, because it is very sad when a debate is underway and a person does not even understand what they are talking about. For example, I should express criticism of the interpreter who translated from Russian into Estonian on radio during the session. I was simply ashamed for him. To begin actually realizing the Language Law we have to think about the financial side of the matter, teachers, and specific institutions. Only then will something begin to change in life. Now we have only legal guarantees that policy can change and how it should begin to change in this direction in fact.

[Kaazik] You are one of the originators of republic cost accounting. How do you as a secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, envision further work in this area?

[Titma] To be honest, IME [Self-Managing Estonia] refers first of all to jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers, and it is economists above all who should be worrying it. We can strive for a certain public opinion, and here I must gratefully note the work which is being done by our journalists. What has been done to educate the people, especially with reference to IME, is deserving of gratitude and apparently this work will continue. I would only wish for one thing: IME does not need to be pictured as an Easter egg which will one day fall from the skies and make everyone happy. This is an extremely gradual and difficult process where the laws of economics must reign, where management of the economy will be done by economic rules, not command-style.

[Kaazik] A question about consolidation. Following the work of the session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, the very informative discussion, and the voting one formed the impression that there were many more points of agreement than disagreement. Is that so?

[Titma] It seems to me that the results of the voting did not show anything unexpected and we need to be very calm about them. In fact quite heavy pressure was put on the Russian-language deputies; matters reached the point where they began reading telegrams right at the session. And therefore, based on the relatively minor facet in which the difference was reflected, they voted against. If it had been a fundamental issue, we would probably have reached unanimity. But because it remained at the level of a minor facet, such a voting pattern is completely normal. In a democratic parliament arguments arise over even less important matters.

Estonian Supsov Votes for Republic Sovereignty

Information Report on Session

18000227a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 17 Nov 88 pp 1, 4

[ETA report on the Extraordinary 8th Session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, 11th Sitting]

[Text] On 16 November at 1200 hours, the Chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Deputy V. Roosma, opened the extraordinary 8th Session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, 11th Sitting.

Attending were 264 deputies as well as numerous guests and journalists. The seats in the boxes were occupied by Comrades V. Vyalya, G. Aleshin, K. Kortelainen, M. Pedak, A. Ryuytel, B. Saul, E.-A. Sillari, B. Tamm, I. Toome, A.-B. Upsi, A. Almann, E. Pyldroos, A. Soydl and G. Tynspoyeg, then the Deputy Chairmen of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet M. Leosk and B. Mornov, and the Deputy Chairmen of the Estonian Council of Ministers V. Beskiviyali, R. Otsason, P. Palu and V. Rayevskiy.

A moment of silence was observed in memory of the recently deceased Deputies L. Kayka and R. Penu.

The report of the Mandate Commission of the Estonian Supreme Soviet was heard and this was given by the Commission Chairman, Deputy E. Cherevashko.

On the basis of the report, the mandates of the following deputies elected on 23 October and 13 November 1988 to the Estonian Supreme Soviet were unanimously recognized as valid: E. Pyldroos from Tallinskiy-Molodezhnyy Electoral District No. 85, Yu. Aare from the Khalyalaskiy Electoral District No. 229, T. Kork from the Temsaluskiy Electoral District No. 233, E. Savisaar from the Vinniskiy Electoral District No. 236 and V. Vyalyas from the Rakverskiy-Lauristinskiy Electoral District No. 240.

A decision was taken unanimously to set up a commission for counting the votes for deputies with the commission consisting of nine persons. Its chairman was elected, the Deputy A. Tammlekht.

Then the session's agenda was approved. The following questions were accepted for review:

1. Organizational questions.
2. On the ratification of the ukases of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.
3. On proposals concerning the USSR Draft Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the USSR Draft Law on the Elections of USSR People's Deputies.
4. On the amendments and supplements of the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law).
5. On the Declaration of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on the Sovereignty of Estonia and the Resolution on a Treaty of Union.
6. On the requests of the deputies of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

Voting for this agenda were 238 deputies, with 5 deputies against and 4 abstentions.

The deputy P. Sabbota expressed a separate opinion on the question of the agenda. This was taken into account by the Estonian Supreme Soviet as one of the draft decrees.

On behalf of a group of deputies, the deputy M. Kolosova made a proposal: considering the great political importance of the session, to have the session be chaired by the deputy V. Vyalyas. This proposal was seconded by the deputy V. Chetvergov. The proposal was adopted unanimously.

Then the deputies began discussing the first question on the agenda. The Chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet A. Ryuytel introduced a proposal approved by the party group and the council of elders of the Estonian Supreme Soviet to remove K. Vayno from the duties of member of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and elect V. Vyalyas as a member of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. This resolution was accepted unanimously.

The deputy V. Vyalyas announced the declaration of the Chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers B. Saul requesting release from the duties as chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers due to transfer to other work. As is known, the USSR Council of Ministers accepted a decision to send B. Saul as a Soviet trade representative to West Germany.

The deputies unanimously resolved to grant the request of B. Saul. Gratitude was expressed to him for the work in the republic party organization as well as in the post of Chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers.

B. Saul addressed the deputies voicing his ideas and opinions on the situation in Estonia. He expressed the hope that the equilibrium and judgment long inherent to the Estonians would make it possible to fully carry out the strategic decisions on restructuring as outlined at the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. He wished success and peace to each Estonian family as well as greater trust and support for the sake of the common undertaking.

Then the floor was given to V. Vyalyas. He stated that having sought the advice of the party and soviet leaders of the rayons and cities, the creative unions and the workers of the republic, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee had resolved to propose the candidate I. Toome to the position of chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers.

The deputies unanimously elected I. Toome as chairman of the Estonian Council of Ministers.

In his speech, I. Toome said that he realized what an enormous burden rests on the Estonian Council of Ministers and its chairman during our complicated times.

"I will endeavor to do everything possible and count on the support of all the government members as well as the support of all of those who today are deeply concerned for the today and tomorrow of Estonia," said I. Toome.

Then the session began discussing the second point of the agenda. The Secretary of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, V. Vakht, gave a report on the ratification of the ukases of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

The deputies unanimously approved the ukases of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

Then it was decided to hear reports on the third and fourth points of the agenda.

The reports on the proposals on the USSR Draft Law on Amendments and Supplements of the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the USSR Draft Law on the Elections of USSR People's Deputies were given by A. Ryuytel and the Estonian Minister of Justice, Deputy A. Kirs. The member of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and Head of the Section on Soviets of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Deputy A. Almann gave a report on the amendments and supplements of the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law).

The deputies unanimously elected the Editorial Commission. The deputy B. Tamm was elected its chairman.

Then the debates commenced on the third and fourth points of the agenda. Speaking were the Deputies R. Khagelberg, T. Laak, V. Koltakov, E. Savisaar, V. Kaul, S. Kont, A. Meller, Yu. Tomachev, Kh.-Yu. Aun, R.

Kirs, V. Andreyev, E. Pyldroos, M. Praporshchikova, P. Tarre, the deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet V. Beckman, the Deputies N. Zakharov, T. Kork, T. Leyto, R. Schmidt, U. Saksladu, K. Kaur, the Scientific Co-Worker of the Institute of Astrophysics and Atmospheric Physics Under the Estonian Academy of Sciences Ch. Villman, as well as the Deputies Yu. Aare, R. Kaydla and Y. Tasa.

After all those desiring to speak had done so, a resolution was taken to halt debate.

The Chairman of the Editorial Commission, Deputy B. Tamm, submitted to the deputies draft documents of the session and in the preparing of these the proposals and opinions were considered voiced during the discussion. A decision was taken to conduct an open vote.

The Decree of the Estonian Supreme Soviet "On Proposals on the USSR Draft Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and USSR Draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies" together with an appendix was adopted unanimously in open voting.

Then submitted to vote was the Law on Incorporating Amendments and Supplements to the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law). This law was passed by 254 votes. There were 7 deputies voting against with no abstentions. The deputies welcomed the results of the voting on their feet with extended applause.

Then the Declaration of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on the Sovereignty of Estonia was put up for vote. This draft had been approved by the Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs and member of the Editorial Commission, Deputy A. Gren.

In discussing the declaration, the deputies made several amendments. Voting for the declaration were 258 deputies with 1 against and 5 abstentions.

The Resolution of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on the Treaty of Union was adopted by 262 votes. There were no votes against and 2 abstentions.

As it was growing late, the deputies resolved to move the discussion of the last point of the agenda on the requests of the deputies of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and include this in the agenda of the next, regular session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

The Deputy V. Vyalyas announced the closing of the extraordinary session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet which had lasted 10 hours.

The documents adopted at the session as well as the speeches will be published in the press.

Ryuytel on Reform Laws

18000227a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 3

[Speech by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet A. Ryuytel at the 8th Extraordinary Session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Honored Deputies! Honored Guests!

Today the Estonian Supreme Soviet has assembled for a session under extraordinary circumstances in order to state the opinion of the superior republic governmental body on two USSR draft laws "On Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and "On the Elections of USSR People's Deputies." These are very important draft laws which require from us a very responsible attitude, scrupulous discussion and well reasoned and well thought-out assessments.

Before going to the heart of the matter, let us recall certain very important events which in Estonia evoked such enormous interest and unusual civil activity.

All our Estonia and each of us are convinced supporters of restructuring and this, certainly, does not mean that we are unanimous on any question. With amazement we have followed the efforts of the CPSU Central Committee and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev aimed at arousing all the Soviet peoples and all Soviet persons to take an active part in the restructuring process without which stagnation in social development would have continued up to now. We support the activities of the CPSU and want to make our contribution to defining those forms and methods of work which ensure the irreversibility and ongoing realization of the restructuring course. The will of the Estonian people was clearly ascertained in the spring and summer of the current year when the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee with then uncustomary democraticness relied in working out its platform for the 19th All-Union Party Conference on the broad masses of people, it might be said, on all the people. This was a qualitative shift to a new level of leadership over the affairs of the state and society. And at present the people with complete justification demand that the platform of our republic recognized by the 19th CPSU Congress not remain suspended in air.

The second turning point in the life of the Estonian people was the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee which elaborated a clear organizational and ideological basis for unifying the forces which radically support the policy of renewal. For our conditions, this is a correct policy and I fully support what was said by Comrade V. Vyalyas at the meeting of the party aktiv the day before yesterday that this is the principled course of the Estonian Communist Party from which we will not retreat. Precisely this course

serves as the basis for activating the rank-and-file communists, the deputies, the creative intelligentsia, the journalists, all the working people and the new social movements which have gained broad support among the masses of people.

And then at a time when our republic was working out reforms and innovations in all areas of life, when there were ardent discussions and a lively exchange of opinions on the future of Estonia, republic economic accountability and republic sovereignty, in the central press there were published for nationwide discussion these two already mentioned and very important draft laws which have been proposed for ratification as laws for several weeks now.

These draft laws have attracted unusual attention from the republic population, as they involve the most urgent questions in the reform of the political system as being carried out upon the decision of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. These most important documents have become a subject of discussion at the joint meetings of the party raykoms and soviets, in the labor collectives, the party organizations, the social and independent people's organizations and movements, at residential sessions of deputies and the public. The draft laws have been discussed in all the town and rayon soviets. And this ardent discussion is continuing.

The minutes of all the meetings are being forwarded to the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and a portion to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Individual citizens are also writing in. Even retired persons have not remained on the sidelines. It was touching to see how elderly persons came to the Personnel Organization to pass on their opinion concerning the draft laws to us.

At present, we have received 21,480 letters as well as 428 minutes of meetings. The letters are signed and 861,987 persons voted at the meetings. Some 15 minutes ago, resolutions were received from meetings held yesterday in the labor collectives with 98,441 persons participating in 197 labor collectives. Resolutions were adopted at the meetings concerning the drafts of the Language Law, the amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution and on the political situation in the republic. Approximately 6 percent of the letters propose specific corrections and supplements. The flow of letters is not abating.

The Bureau of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has established a commission of 31 persons which is to generalize the voiced viewpoints and is to work out the appropriate proposals to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Leadership of the commission's work has been assigned to me. The Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet in its decree has formed a group of experts headed by the Estonian Minister of Justice A. Kiris to help the commission. Also involved in working out proposals are deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Estonian Supreme Soviet and the

local soviets, the permanent commissions of the soviets, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations as well as other social organizations and soviet bodies.

The group of experts has been working very intensely, beginning its work early in the morning and ending late at night. It also had to work on holidays. The commission held three sessions where they discussed in detail the generalizations of the received proposals. This was also done twice at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We have reported an intermediate generalization at a session of the subcommission of the Commissions of Legislative Proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet with the First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet A. Lukyanov participating in this. The discussion was conducted in a situation of complete frankness and understanding.

A generalization of the course of discussing the draft laws has made it possible to assert today that the Estonian population recognizes itself as a people which lives in a union of sovereign states on a basis of voluntariness and equality. We are trying for the further collaboration with the other Union republics to help in establishing a union of truly free peoples, eliminate the supercentralization which actually negates the constitutional basis for political and state activities in our country, that is, sovereign statehood and the principles of people's self-government.

In the predominant majority criticism, was leveled at the draft laws. From the minutes received by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, support for these was voiced only at meetings conducted in 10 collectives involving 605 persons and in 3 letters from individuals.

Support for the draft laws was also expressed at the Dvigatel [Engine] Plant, the Electrical Equipment Plant imeni Kh. Pegelman and others. A decree in support of them was adopted by the Narva Municipal Soviet.

In the decisions and letters received it is pointed out that the draft laws contain serious contradictions with the instructions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and that they do not conform to the requirements of democratization for essentially all sociopolitical life. From the assessments it stems that the draft law on the amendments and supplements to the Constitution as well as the conforming draft law on elections brings about a narrowing of the rights and sovereignty of the Union republics. The draft of amendments and supplements to the Constitution does not derive from the notion of the USSR as a union of states and consequently it does not contain the long-awaited move toward a more just organization of the state and legal status of the Union republic on a basis of the Treaty of Union. The adoption of the amendments and supplements of the Constitution in the presented form would substantially complicate a solution to the problems besetting Estonia. It has also been pointed out that the draft of amendments and supplements to the Constitution does not make it possible to

realize the provisions of the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Serious criticism has been voiced over the question that the names of the authors of the draft laws have not been publicized and the Union republics were not involved in working out these drafts.

In a joint resolution of the Khaapsaluskiy Party Raykom and the Khaapsaluskiy Rayon Soviet, it was pointed out that the Union republics were not involved in preparing the draft laws and that the provisions of the constitutional draft negate the sovereignty of the Union republics and as a consequence of this the draft is undemocratic and runs contrary to the resolutions and provisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and to the principles of a state of law. In this and many other resolutions a proposal is made at the current extraordinary session to quickly adopt the supplements and amendments of the Estonian Constitution in the aim of defending Estonian sovereignty.

The resolution of the extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the Estonian Academy of Sciences has emphasized that the draft laws are contradictory to the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference concerning the democratization of Soviet society and the broadening of Union republic rights, and are a step backward in comparison with the existing Constitution and legislation. This decision proposes not to discuss the draft laws at the next session of the Supreme Soviet but rather, on a democratic basis and drawing on representatives from the Union republics, to establish a commission which would begin to work out new draft laws, having begun with the most important the draft of the Treaty of Union.

The resolution of the council of Tartu State University emphasizes that the adoption of the amendments and supplements to the Constitution in the submitted form excludes the opportunity for the republic itself to resolve its own affairs in the area of the economy, culture and social sphere and thereby makes the principles of republican economic accountability unfeasible.

In the appeal by workers from the Physics Institute of the Estonian Academy of Sciences to the inhabitants of Estonia, we read that the implementing of many important provisions of the drafts would render impossible the rapid and effective economic, cultural and social flourishing of the USSR, it would cause an exacerbation of tension between the nationalities and do serious damage to the international prestige of our state. As in many other appeals, in this primary importance is given to making the core of the legal changes in the USSR the Treaty of Union concluded between sovereign Union republics and based upon Leninist principles, with the concluding of this treaty being carried out in the current year.

Workers from the Ilmarine Plant in their appeal do not support the adopting of the draft laws in the submitted form and propose that the current session adopt a supplement to the Estonian Constitution according to which the USSR Constitution, the amendments to it and the Union laws go into effect on Estonian territory only after their ratification by the Estonian Supreme Soviet. The appeal was signed by 142 workers.

The above-stated is basically repeated in all the messages submitted to us.

There were also sharper views. The Vyrnskiy Rayon Soviet in its resolution proposed, when necessary, to include the question of the possible withdrawal of Estonia from the USSR as an addition to the agenda of the current session to protect the constitutional sovereignty of Estonia. Analogous proposals were found in 165 letters and minutes.

Honored Comrades!

We are presently discussing the most important question, the reform of the political system.

This must be done in a sober and business-like manner, having shed our emotions. Today in a spirit of the Leninist traditions, we must thoroughly discuss the draft laws submitted for discussion by all the people.

In the course of the discussion of these draft laws, the Estonian citizens have become persuaded that the implementing of a reform in the political system of Soviet society is possible only by a radical democratization of social life, a substantial increase in the independence and responsibility of the Union republics and local bodies for the direction of economic, social and cultural development. The republic inhabitants support the principles of the 19th All-Union Party Conference concerning the decentralization of administration as well as the redistributing of the functions and powers so as to ensure maximum independence and initiative on the spot.

These provisions agree with the Resolution of the 19th CPSU Conference "On the Democratization of Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System." It states: "One of the important areas of the reform in the political system is seen by the conference in the decentralizing of administration and a reallocation of functions and powers which would ensure maximum initiative and independence on the spot."

The inhabitants of Estonia, like all the Soviet population, are concerned for the insufficient development of the economy. The half-hearted measures to improve the economic mechanism have produced little results. One of the reasons is to be found in the deviation from Leninist principles in the federal structure of the USSR with the result being the supercentralized sectorial management system. It has impeded and currently does impede integrated economic development of the regions

and hence the development of our entire nation. The Estonian population sees the way out of this situation in the over-all concept worked out in our republic for regional economic accountability and the applying of its principles in the Union republics, the oblasts, cities and rayons. But this will be impossible if the role of the soviet bodies of the Union republics and the local soviets is not increased in the management of economic and social development.

The realization of the principle of economic accountability for a Union republic is made virtually impossible by the existence of Point 7 of Article 113 of the draft law on amendments and supplements to the Constitution. This establishes that the USSR Supreme Soviet in terms of legislation regulates the relationships of property, national economic, social and cultural development, the budget and financial systems, wages and price formation, taxation, environmental conservation and the use of natural resources, constitutional rights, liberties and duties of the citizens and the organizing of other relations the regulating of which is within the competence of the USSR authorities.

The union of Union republics established by V.I. Lenin is unique in its essence. Its motto is international unity and the right of all peoples and nations to self-determination as one of the greatest victories of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Resolution of the 19th Party Conference "On Nationality Relations" states that within the context of the renewal of the political system, practical measures must be implemented to further develop the Soviet federation and its strengthening on democratic principles. It is a question above all of broadening the rights of the Union republics and autonomous formations by delimiting the competence of the USSR and the Union republics, decentralization, the transfer of many administrative functions to the local bodies, increasing independence and responsibility in the area of economic, social and cultural development as well as natural conservation. The Estonian population sees the way to realize this important principle in the unswerving observance of the requirements of the sovereignty of the Union republics and a possible form for this is seen in the linkage between the Union republics on the basis of the Treaty of Union.

Part 4 of Article 111 and Point 13 of Article 119 also do not contribute to the further development of a federative state and to the broadening of the rights of the Union republics. Quite the reverse.

Part 4 of Article 111 of the draft law provides that the Soviet of Nationalities is elected from among the USSR people's deputies chosen from the national-territorial electoral districts and the USSR people's deputies chosen by social organizations. However, election to the Soviet of Nationalities must be by lists submitted by the Union republics and only with those deputies who have been elected to the national-territorial electoral districts.

The rights of the Union republics are also limited by the planned amendments in the structure of the superior state bodies of the USSR and by the procedure for their elections.

Elections of one-third of the membership of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies by the all-Union social organizations are aimed at strengthening the central authority. Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet will no longer be direct but indirect since the Congress of People's Deputies elects the Supreme Soviet.

Thus, the voters are deprived of the right to determine directly who should represent their interests in the permanent legislative body. The representation of the Union republics in the higher state bodies of the USSR is also substantially reduced. Point 21 of Article 113 of the draft, in contrast to Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, gives unlimited powers to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The rights of the Union republics are also infringed by Article 116 of the draft according to which the Soviet of Nationalities is to discuss the questions of social and economic development in the republics, national cultures and nationality relations.

It cannot be considered correct that the Union republics do not have the right to determine the system of their own state bodies, the general provisions and directions of their activities and the legal status of the social organizations. This does not conform to the instructions of the 19th Party Conference that one must restore all the power of the soviets from top to bottom. We support the elections of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. But is there any need for a congress of people's deputies in our small republic?

It is essential to limit the powers of the USSR Supreme Soviet indicated in Point 7 of Article 113, in bringing them into accord with Article 73 of the USSR Constitution. The content of this article cannot be broadened as this would restrict the rights of the Union republics.

The draft law on amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution denies the right of nations to self-determination and this, according to the Resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference "On Nationality Relations," is the motto of the union of republics. The principles of the draft law do not conform to the international pacts ratified by the Soviet Union on the economic, social and cultural rights of peoples and on civil and political rights of 16 December 1966.

Point 2 of Article 108 of the draft puts within the exclusive competence of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies the adopting of resolutions on the composition of the USSR. According to Point 1 of Article 73 of the current USSR Constitution, the competence of the USSR includes only the adoption of new republics as part of the USSR. In line with this, Article 72 of the

USSR Constitution is actually devoid of sense, as according to this each Union republic has the right to freely withdraw from the USSR.

Point 13 of Article 112 of the draft does not correspond to the principles of democratic development and the founding of a state of law as by this the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is granted the right to establish, when necessary, special forms of governing. What the "special forms of governing" means has not been disclosed.

Honored Deputies!

The time allocated for this report does not make it possible to take up in detail all the provisions of the draft law which, in our opinion, do not conform to the course of restructuring. The report has examined only those provisions which the commission organized by the Bureau of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee felt it necessary to report to you.

The commission has worked out a draft Declaration of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and a draft Decree of the Supreme Soviet on the USSR draft laws discussed today, the draft law on the amendments and supplements to the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law) and the resolution on the Treaty of Union. These documents were approved by the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

In the declaration we urge the entire republic population to unite for the sake of constructing a democratic and authentically socialist society in Estonia. The draft law envisages the incorporation of the necessary amendments in the Estonian Constitution. The draft resolution supports numerous proposals on the elaboration and conclusion of the Treaty of Union.

In conclusion I would like to draw your attention to certain other circumstances.

As you know, on 10 November 1988, there was a regular session of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and here they discussed the problems of the reform being carried out in the political system. Here it was considered advisable to thoroughly analyze the legal status of the Union and autonomous republics in the aim of broadening their rights and opportunities in various spheres of economic, social, political and cultural life. The CPSU Central Committee also discussed the preparations for the plenum where a proposal was made to examine the questions of improving relations between nationalities in the Soviet Union. Here also measures were planned to improve the Soviet federation and further delimit the competence of the USSR and the Union republics.

We are confident that these plans will serve as support for our initiatives. For now we must carefully think through our every step, realizing what we wish to achieve and how to defend our rights. The Politburo member of

the CPSU Central Committee and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V.M. Cherbikov, who recently visited our republic, expressed support for the course of the 11th Plenum of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. At the same time, he emphasized the necessity of balance, trust and mutual understanding in order to achieve future decisions which will ensure that our life will be better. This certainty is indubitably essential for all of us.

In speaking on 14 November at a meeting of the party soviet, economic and ideological aktiv, Comrade Vyalyas again set out a clear platform proceeding from which we should assess the current situation and act in concert.

All that has been stated above provides grounds to hope that the current session as well as the discussion and adoption of decisions on each point of the agenda will be carried out in an atmosphere of a sincere desire to do something substantive and essential. The question which we are about to begin to discuss is in fact extremely important. And primarily in the political sense. Let us do everything within our power so that the decisions adopted here are in every possible way backed up and correct. All Estonia, all the rayons and cities, the labor collectives and citizens are now looking to us. Let us justify their expectations and proceed as is demanded of us by our conscience, honor and high calling of a people's deputy.

Justice Minister Speaks

18000227a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 4

[Speech by the Estonian Minister of Justice, Deputy A. Kiris, at the 8th Session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Honored Comrade Deputies!

Before providing you with a brief review of the draft of the Decree of the Estonian Supreme Soviet "On Proposals Relating to the Draft Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the Draft Law on the Elections of USSR People's Deputies," I should point out that a principled political analysis of the drafts has already been made by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet A. Ryuytel in his report, and for this reason there is no need to again delve deeply into the political essence of the drafts and we can move on immediately to a familiarization with the main provisions of the designated draft decree.

The draft was worked out by the expert group mentioned in the report by A. Ryuytel together with the commission formed by the Buro of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. It was reviewed and approved at a session of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. It must be said that this was actually the fruit of collective creativity.

The basic provisions defining the content and form of the draft have been given in its introduction. In working it out as the base they have employed the viewpoints voiced by the republic population as well as a political and legal analysis of the draft laws submitted for discussion by the entire people.

Here I cannot help but emphasize that it is a question of the drafts of two extensive legal enactments which, on the one hand, are very closely interrelated and, on the other, contain a multiplicity of independent provisions with the attitude toward these being different.

In assessing the enactments as a whole as well as their individual chapters and articles, we have proceeded from their legal and political quality and at the same time from those specific goals at which they are aimed.

In the second section of the draft decree on page 2 it is emphasized that, considering the viewpoint of the 19th CPSU Conference on the need to hold elections for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the first half of 1989 and Chapter 13 of the Draft of Corrections to the Constitution and the Draft Law on Elections of the USSR People's Deputies, it is essential to incorporate the necessary amendments and supplements and then adopt provisions which concern the elections of the people's deputies. Here it is essential to establish a provision by which the adoption, amending and supplementing of the USSR Constitution and the other constitutional laws would be carried out after their approval by all the Union republics. This would make it possible to ensure the sovereignty of the Union republics.

Point 1 of the decree provides an assessment of the 12th and 15th Chapters of the Draft Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and a number of articles from the subsequent part of the draft. Comrade Ryuytel has already pointed to certain shortcomings of a fundamental nature, particularly in the provisions of Chapter 15.

The standards of Chapter 12 realize the idea of establishing a new state body, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Here the Union republics have not been given an opportunity themselves to adopt decisions on the advisability of establishing this body (Articles 89 and 91). The wording of Article 93 of this chapter which sets down the competence of the people's deputies (according to it they directly and through the bodies established by them also direct as well all sectors of state, economic and sociocultural construction) can be interpreted as a restriction on the rights of the production collectives.

Many critical comments in our press and in letters from the citizens have been directed at the provisions of Chapter 15. For example, Point 2 of Article 108 puts "in the exclusive charge of the Congress of People's Deputies...the adopting of decisions on the questions of the make-up of the USSR." In so doing it contradicts the existing Point 1 of Article 73 which stipulates that within

the competence of the USSR is solely "the acceptance of new republics into the USSR." The wording of the draft could be a measure to eliminate the sovereignty of the Union republics.

Point 12 of the same article places in the competence of the Congress of People's Deputies "the nullification of legislative enactments adopted by the superior state bodies of the Union and autonomous republics." This is a violation of the sovereignty of the Union (as well as the autonomous) republics, at least in terms of a Union republic, as a sovereign state, where the demand should be established that the Union republic itself abrogates its own law on the basis of the corresponding request in the event that it does not contradict the USSR Constitution.

Very many comments have been received over Paragraph 4 of Article 109 which, in establishing indirect elections, violates the democratic principle of uniform elections: namely that as a consequence of the elections of the people's deputies through the social organizations some may have the right not to two votes, as all the rest, but significantly more (for example, simultaneously through the CPSU Central Committee, the AUCCTU, the Women's Council and so forth). Here precisely this portion (one-third) of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies can serve as the prerequisite for reducing the proportional amount of a small Union republic in the higher USSR state body, as it can be reliably assumed that a majority of the persons put up as USSR people's deputies through the all-Union bodies of the social organizations and the all-Union congresses will be from the large Union republics.

Article 111 of the draft keeps the current principle for electing the membership of the USSR Supreme Soviet as its Soviet of Nationalities consists of representatives not only from the Union republics but also from the autonomous republics and other autonomous formations. As a result at present as well the representation of the Union republics in the Supreme Soviet remains uneven and from the viewpoint of the small Union republics, undemocratic.

Article 113 of the draft which defines in detail the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet has also evoked numerous comments. While it might be disputed whether the right contained in Points 2-4 of this article to form the USSR government, the USSR Defense Council, the USSR People's Control Committee and the all-Union legal bodies should be within the competence of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, undoubtedly one cannot agree with Points 6, 7, 9 of this article. Point 6 of Article 113 preserves the existing provision on USSR legislation, that is, by the principles of the legislation of the USSR and the Union republics, the legislative rights of the Union republics were minimal and the legislation was turned into a very effective means for centralizing the state. As a condition for broadening the

sovereignty of the Union republics for ensuring a unity of legislative regulation on all Soviet territory, it would be sufficient to establish common principles and not legislative principles.

The introduction of Point 7 of this same article in the form submitted in the draft could become a serious obstacle for realizing the idea of economic accountability in a Union republic. Point 9 of this article is also aimed at narrowing the competence of a Union republic: while according to Point 3 of Article 73 of the Constitution, the USSR is responsible "for establishing the general principles in the organization and activities of the republic and local state administrative bodies," according to the draft the USSR Supreme Soviet also determines the basic areas for the activities of these bodies and also "defines the legal status of the social organizations."

According to the wording of the third paragraph of Article 116, the USSR Soviet of Nationalities can intervene into numerous vital questions of the Union and autonomous republics and other autonomous units and which in principle should be within the competence of the national-state and national-territorial units, namely: the questions of their socioeconomic development and particularly nationality culture as well as ensuring their equality of nationality rights and the interests of the nations, peoples and nationality groups.

Point 13 of Article 119 of the draft relates to the competence of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to declare "in the interests of defending the USSR, martial law or a state of emergency in individual localities or throughout the nation with the introduction when necessary of special forms of administration." Martial law as well as a state of emergency are rather widespread phenomena in the practices of world constitutional legislation and their functioning in the constitution together with the subsequent detailed description of them in the laws need not be contested. However, the concept of introducing "special forms of administration" the essence of which, moreover, is not disclosed has evoked argument among many. They see in this the possibility of eliminating authorities which have been elected democratically. The establishing of such forms of administration, if this is accompanied by the introduction of martial law or a state of emergency, should be described in a special law of constitutional significance and not in the current form in the Constitution.

From the viewpoint of establishing a socialist state of law, we cannot be satisfied with the organizing of a USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision as provided for in Article 125 of the draft. This body which, according to the text of Paragraph 2 of this article, operates on social [volunteer] principles should, proceeding from its functions, operate, so to speak, in one area: to make certain that the draft laws and enforceable enactments of the state bodies and social organizations (including the Union republic constitutions and the decrees of the Union republic councils of ministers) do

not contradict the USSR Constitution. An effectively operating body for constitutional supervision is undoubtedly required, however it should without fail have the status of a court body which would make certain that the USSR Constitution itself and the all-Union laws would conform to the principles of constitutional legislation and not infringe the sovereign rights and legitimate interests of the Union republics and autonomous formations, that is, its competence should be significantly broader. Its effectiveness in the submitted draft for a true state of law is extremely meager.

In the provisions of the above-listed chapters of the draft Constitution, there are other, equally significant shortcomings. They also have articles which we would not dispute. However, the above-given discrepancies together with those listed in the report of A. Ryuytel force one to view them as a whole negatively.

A number of provisions in the remaining articles (137, 138, 139, 143 and 144) of the draft are unacceptable for the Union and autonomous republics due to the prescribed form of the Congress of People's Deputies.

Nor can we agree with the provision set out in Article 135 according to which the procedure for transferring enterprises and associations from republic and local subordination to Union is to be determined by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The leaving of this right solely to an Union body could represent a serious threat to the economic independence of a republic as well as to the rights of the local soviets.

Article 152 of the draft also does not conform to the principles of a state of law as according to this the people's judges of the rayon (municipal) people's courts are to be elected by the appropriate rayon, city and city rayon soviets. This was emphasized in the articles both in the republic and all-Union press as well as in the received comments. They expressed the opinion that the only dependable way for freeing the people's judges from the pressure brought to bear by local bodies, that is, the way of subordinating a judge solely to the law and ensuring his independence is the election (appointment, assigning) the people's judges by the superior soviet. Unfortunately, the draft has not followed this path.

Point 2 of the draft decree proceeds from the premise that for the above-named reasons the listed provisions of the draft Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution are unacceptable and since they as well as a number of other provisions (listed in Point 2.1) do not take up the questions of electing the people's deputies and for this reason an improvement in these provisions is possible in the course of a further public discussion and the working out of them by specialists, it is proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet not put them on the agenda of the coming session.

The proposal made in Subpoint 2 of Point 2 to work out and adopt a USSR Law Governing the Procedure for Working Out, Adopting and Putting Into Force the USSR Constitution has been dictated by a desire to legislatively regulate the procedure for elaborating and introducing the Constitution in the aim of establishing a clear system which now is missing in this most important legislative sphere.

Subpoint 3 of Point 2 expresses the proposal of our Supreme Soviet concerning the form in which the further elaboration of constitutional questions should be carried out, namely, a commission established by the representatives of the Union republics on a parity basis.

Point 3 of the draft decree states that Chapter 18 of the Draft Law on Amendments and Supplements to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) which provides for the electoral system as well as many provisions of the USSR Draft Law on the Elections of USSR People's Deputies do not conform to the aims of the further development of democratization. Proceeding from this, Point 5 proposes the submission of amendments and supplements to the USSR Supreme Soviet on these proposals according to the appendix.

At the same time, according to Point 4 of the draft decree, the Estonian Supreme Soviet may submit as a legislative initiative to the USSR Supreme Soviet a proposal to incorporate the amendments given in Subpoints 1, 2, 3, 4 in the current USSR Constitution.

These proposals state that the amendments and supplements in the USSR Constitution are not to be adopted on 29 November while at the same time the USSR Law Governing the Elections of People's Deputies will be adopted and, consequently, the Congress of People's Deputies will be constituted. The wording of Article 89 leaves to the Union and autonomous republics the opportunity themselves to resolve the questions of the structure of the state bodies. The supplementing of Article 108 with Paragraph 4 in the given wording makes it possible for the Union republic to take a real part in working out the USSR Constitution as a federative state, that is, our common state.

Other amendments (the title of Chapter 15 and the amending of the 1st Paragraph of Article 108) are of a technical nature.

Honored People's Deputies!

I believe that by adopting the draft decree under discussion in its current form or by improving it in a business-like, constructive working situation, we will make our own contribution to improving the USSR constitutional legislation and at the same time to strengthening the constitutional bases of Estonia.

I thank you for your attention.

Presidium Member Speaks

18000227a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 17 Nov 88 p 4

[Speech by the Member of the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet and Head of the Section of Soviets Under the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Deputy A. Almann, at the 8th Session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Honored Deputies!

In the course of discussing the drafts of the laws on amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution and "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies," submitted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for national discussion, the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has received proposals from many, many people's deputies, soviets, social organizations and movements as well as from scientists and the public on incorporating amendments in the Estonian Constitution. It can be said with complete confidence that the amendments to the Estonian Constitution have become an inseparable part of the public discussion. These have recognized the necessity for incorporating in the republic Basic Law those amendments and supplements which would guarantee republic sovereignty as a USSR Union republic, and give it the right itself to determine the questions of the utilization of its land, its mineral wealth, water and all other natural resources. Proposals have also been submitted on broadening the constitutional rights of the citizens and guaranteeing their legal defense. The appeals to the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet contain proposals to incorporate in the republic political system the People's Front of Estonia and other movements with all the ensuing rights. Proposals have also been made that the republic Constitution reflect and take into account the generally recognized provisions of international law.

For working through and generalizing the proposals received during the public discussion as well as for defining the position, under the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet an expert group was formed which included republic lawyers and representatives of many other specialties.

Considering the public opinion generalized by the expert group, the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet feels that the supplementing of the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law) should meet the requirements of developing our social life and become the basis for a further improvement in all the republic's legislation. In submitting today numerous proposals to the Estonian Supreme Soviet on amending the republic Basic Law, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet feels it necessary to point out that in the Estonian draft law issued to the deputies on incorporating amendments and supplements in the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law) are to be found in a generalized form those proposals which at the given stage conform to the established social relations as well

as those which create additional legal guarantees which provide defense against the automatic employment of all-Union legislation and other enforceable enactments on republic territory and which, proceeding from this, must be incorporated in the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law).

Among the proposals submitted to the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet are also those which as a consequence of their activity cannot be defined by constitutional standards and in the future they will have to be considered in working out and introducing laws and other subconstitutional enforceable enactments. These points of view of the expert group were reported on to the commission organized upon the decision of the Bureau of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and have also been reviewed by the Permanent Commission on Legislative Proposals Under the Estonian Supreme Soviet.

On the question of the proposals submitted today to the Supreme Soviet for it to define its position, we feel it necessary to explain the following. The Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet considers it advisable to set out in the Estonian Constitution that the provisions of the International Pact "On Economic, Social Rights and on Rights in the Cultural Area," the International Pact "On Civil and Political Rights" which have been generally recognized by the states of the world and ratified by the USSR as well as other international pacts and declarations which defend human and civil rights are to be an inseparable part of the Estonian legal system. Here it is advisable that this be stated in the preamble of the Basic Law as a general principle and hence applicable to the entire Constitution and legislation of the republic.

In the aim of ensuring the constitutional rights of the citizens, the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet considers it advisable to supplement Article 4 of the Constitution with a Point 3 which would set out the principles for the judicial defense of all constitutional rights of the citizens. The procedure for the defense for the constitutional rights of the citizens should be reflected in the other legal enactments stemming from this and where they must disclose the essence of the defense of the constitutional rights of the citizens.

In considering the changes which have occurred in recent years in the economic system, the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has proposed changing Article 10 of the Estonian Constitution and bringing it into accord with changes in the life of our nation as well as with the existing Union legislation. For this reason it is proposed that the republic Basic Law state that the Estonian economic system includes, in addition to state and cooperative property, also the property of the social organizations, the property of the social movements, private and mixed property and that the state protects all forms of property indicated in the Constitution and creates conditions for their growth.

The presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has proposed amending Part 2 of Article 11 of the Estonian Constitution in a manner so that the land, the underground wealth, the atmospheric air, the inland and territorial waters, the continental shelf, the forests and other natural resources are recognized as the exclusive property of Estonia. In the current Constitution, the land, underground wealth, water and forests are spoken of as exclusively state property. Since in the USSR Constitution, the land, underground wealth, waters and forests are considered as exclusively state property, we feel it more precise that in the Basic Law of Estonia, as a sovereign Soviet socialist republic, the riches considered as exclusively state property be defined as riches which are in the exclusive ownership of this Union republic, that is, Estonia. Following the same reasoning, it is considered more precise that the other property belonging to the state as listed in Article 11 of the Estonian Constitution in constitutional terms belong to Estonia.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has proposed amending Article 74 of the Estonian Constitution in such a manner that the Estonian Supreme Soviet would have the right in terms of the legislative and other enforceable enactments of the USSR to halt them or to set limits to their employment. The right of halting or setting limits for the employment of laws and other enforceable enactments of the USSR would belong to the Estonian Supreme Soviet, if one of these enactments, in the first place, violated Estonian sovereignty, secondly, governed questions which under the Estonian Constitution were within the competence of Estonia; or, thirdly, if this all-Union enforceable enactment did not take into account the particular features of the republic. In order to halt an all-Union enforceable enactment or set limits to its application, any one of the three indicated circumstances would be sufficient.

Here I would like to emphasize particularly that the wording submitted today for discussion and the second wording submitted at a session of the Tartu Municipal Soviet and a Plenum of the Tartu Party Gorkom and which was supported by 40 deputies of the Estonian Supreme Soviet participating in the session of the Tartu Municipal Soviet and which was widely discussed both in the mass information media as well as in the collectives, are not in opposition and not competing. It is a question of a single idea, that is, ensuring the primacy of the superior body and its decisions over the all-Union legislation and other enforceable enactments. Republic sovereignty requires defense both by political and legal means. The necessity of this precisely at the current session can be seen, for example, in Point 7 of Article 113 of the Draft Law on Amendments and Supplements of the USSR Constitution and which provides for the settling of a whole series of questions which are within the competence of the Union republic. While the initial wording submitted at a session of the Tartu Municipal Soviet had, primarily, a political nature, the draft submitted to the deputies today also discloses its legal and procedural content. We also feel it essential to adopt the

corresponding enactment which would contain the procedural standards and which would regulate the procedure of action of this mechanism.

The Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet is proposing changing those articles of the Estonian Constitution which mention the social organization and along with these mention the social movements. We do not consider it advisable to list the social movements individually in the Constitution. The Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet considers that the draft which has been issued to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet for the Estonian Law on Incorporating Amendments and Supplements to the Estonian Constitution (Basic Law) requires an extremely responsible discussion by all the deputies and the adoption of those decisions which would currently meet the interests of our electors and our people.

I thank you.

BSSR Gomel Obkom Chief's Leadership Style Profiled

18000432a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Valentin Safonov, Gomel: "On Everybody's Mind: We Discuss First Secretaries"]

[Text:] In the long history of Gomel there have been many dramatic moments. But the most fearsome and the most acute was what happened during the last days of April in 1986.

It was a man's voice on the telephone:

"Comrade Kamay? Aleksey Stepanovich, can I speak to you as a communist...as to an obkom secretary.... We have a bad situation in Braginskiy Rayon, Aleksey Stepanovich!"

And then about the hot flashes in the skies over the Chernobyl AES, about the refugees coming from the other, the Ukrainian, bank of the Pripyat.

That was how the first secretary of the Gomel Obkom of the Belorussian CP learned about the tragedy of Chernobyl. An ordinary equipment operator had phoned. The official confirmation of the disaster, alas, came later. By that time, Aleksandr Adamovich Grakhovskiy, the chairman of the oblispolkom who had also heard of the disaster appeared at the door of his office. Pulled away from their jobs by the growing alarm arrived the heads of the obkom sections. The door was never closed.... The situation was reminiscent of combat and seemed like the first day of a war.

The staff was at work! It was essential not only to receive and quarter but also clothe, warm and feed thousands of people. They had to cheer up those who had lost heart and check the appearance of panic. A detail but far from a minor one was the 50,000 hurriedly made gauze masks

and special decontamination packets. They may have been makeshift and ineffective but still some protection against the lethal clouds escaping from the interior of the reactor.

The wind was blowing from the south to the north. Scores of villages, settlements and hamlets had to be evacuated. Thousands of hectares of land had permanently lost their ability to produce. It was an eternal dead zone....

Specialists, having estimated the losses, reached the conclusion that an entire rayon had been removed from productive activity. And it was not a small area.... It was a disheartening situation.

In Gomel they are fond of repeating that "Minsk is the first city in the republic but Gomel is not the second...."

And proud Gomel this time, in April 1986, did not lose heart. "We have not been left without help. But it is immoral to take from the state what we can and should produce ourselves....," said Aleksey Stepanovich Kamay at an emergency session of the obkom buro. And no one contested this as it was a generally accepted viewpoint.

The work style of the first secretary is always the work style of the party organization. If the first secretary is prone to shouting, caddishness and abuse, you can be certain that any regular instructor will shout ten times more loudly, and will backstab and defame a hundred times more skillfully. Of course, there are exceptions but extremely rare ones.

Born in April 1936, Kamay remembers the war. After May 1945 he was both a school child and a worker on a kolkhoz. Painfully familiar pictures from his childhood—drawing letters in chalk on a blackboard and after the school bell running to the threshing floor, throwing heavy sheaves into the mouth of the thresher until he was exhausted. From his father, a peasant and a soldier, Aleksey Stepanovich learned thoroughness in his approach to any undertaking. From the partisans who protected his life and future, he gained unflagging valor. I would define Kamay's style in one word: attacking.

Thus, the people of Gomel did not go about seeking charity and handouts. They realized in the obkom that a drop in spirits or giving in to weakness would mean to deprive the people of both willpower and confidence in themselves. This would mean that consumers and idlers would be made from the creators, from the workers.

The decision adopted at that time by the oblast party organization was the only correct one. The costs of the disaster were spread over all. Each settlement, each rayon, each enterprise put its shoulder to the heavy burden. Not even the slightest figures were cut in the plans, the quotas and obligations.

And we did it, amazing not only our nearby neighbors, but also Moscow. And in truth we amazed ourselves: we were able, we knew how! At the risk of being banal, I would repeat the truth which has certainly been confirmed here that things are achieved by man, by people.

With good reason for a long time the chief concern of the obkom has been for the cadres. The consistency with which the oblast solves cadre questions is praiseworthy.

At the party committee of the oil refinery which is in Mozyr, I spoke with its leaders. And Vladimir Petrovich Tomin, the deputy director for economics, in recalling his recent youth, uttered casually that he had been the chief of a shift in a production section.

"Just a minute," I said, my interest pricked. "Are you not an economist?"

"Yes and no, not totally...."

That is, strictly speaking, not completely an economist but rather a production engineer by education. But economic science was a matter of total infatuation. A vacancy appeared and he went to the director with the request of appointing him.

"We appointed him and were not mistaken," considers Aleksey Mikhaylovich Vikhor, the party committee secretary. "It is hard to find such specialists!"

Not only the sketches and estimates but also the strict and accurate calculations made by Tomin prepared the collective to put the plant on a lease arrangement. Not a section or a shop for lease but rather an enormous facility!

They say that initiative is punishable. People with initiative were beaten in the past and, unfortunately, they are still beaten now. But the ambitious are not punished where people, having been granted power, see in them not rivals but rather fellow workers and leaders of the job. And again to be completely clear: in the oblast they in no way neglect graduated specialists. But certainly a diploma is not the be-all and end-all.

And here is a situation where it is not a question of "commanders," but rather the "rank-and-file" working man. At present, even the most meticulous economists cannot say with certainty what harm the nation suffers from personnel turnover. One thing is clear that this is enormous. Gomel Oblast was also no exception. The obkom, having delved into the problem, worked out recommendations. And the main thing was it did not bind the hands of search and creativity. And things noticeably improved. Were there incentives? If you please. At the same Mozyr at the reclamation equipment plant the machine tool operators in the first year were paid an additional 60 rubles to their wages and in the second, 40.

"That was how the collective decided," related the party committee secretary Leonid Gregoryevich Fedorenko. "We can see that the decision was correct."

In watching Kamay, I reflected over the fact that he was from the generation which sent Gagarin into space, brought Legasov into the orbit of science and gave the world the inspired words of Rubtsov.

To a varying degree, in truth, I knew personally Gagarin and Rubtsov. I learned about Legasov later. All three imparted to us not only love for the fatherland but also great concern for its difficulties. These are feelings which oblige greatly....

During the black days of Chernobyl, the city and surroundings were swept by rumors arising from the crowds around the station: supposedly Kamay had loaded his family in an airplane and left the oblast. The same had to be done, so they said, by the rest of the "heads."

A crowd on the brink of breakdown and hysteria.

"There is one solution—to calm them down by our appearance," said Aleksey Stepanovich at a session of the obkom buro.

They went with their families to a meeting devoted to Victory Day. Not only their sons and daughters, but also their grandsons if they had any.

Here also, among the people, were both the wife of Kamay, Nadezhda Iosifovna, and the wife of the chairman of the Oblispolkom, Grakhovskiy, Lyudmila Ivanovna. The meeting was also attended by the families of other responsible workers. Thus the hubbub died down completely!

To find the solution to a difficult situation and to make what is seemingly impossible possible as this is in the interests of the people and the interests of the job is one of the admonishments which Aleksey Stepanovich does not cease in reminding those around.

It once happened that the private farmers hiked up the price for potatoes to a ruble per kilogram. And this was in Belorussia with its great potato harvests! Nothing like this had ever happened. But you could not eliminate the fleecing by an order. Then the kolkhozes began delivering potatoes to the market and soon the price was one-quarter.

Incidentally, a word about the markets. The quiet, snow-dusted rayon centers of Vetka, Buda-Koshelevo, Zhlobin, Rechitsa, Oktyabrskiy, Kalinkovich...in virtually all of them are counters securely protected against bad weather. Convenient approaches and back areas. Pavilions where one can purchase everything from nails to 10-12 types of sausage.

The construction of markets is as much a component of the Food Program as are the subsidiary farms of the enterprises. The Gomel "industrialists" are broadening and improving them with skill and benefit.

There is the Radio Plant imeni 60 Letiye SSSR, where Vladimir Ivanovich Gorbachevskiy is the director. There is a hothouse with sunny patches of tomatoes against the background of the winter darkness. There is a smoke shop which turns chicken carcasses into an unusual delicacy. There are displays in the prepared foods stores and dining rooms and in the morning you browse along the panel and in the evening you receive your order. There is the possibility of choice as 13 out of the 27 items are meat products.... The Starting Engines Plant. Here the director is Stanislav Ivanovich Prokopenko. From table scraps delivered to the subsidiary farm the workers obtain, in addition to meat, also subproducts.... And the general director of the machine building association, Ivan Ivanovich Aleynik, is rightly proud of the mushroom production and fish shop....

"I view the Food Program as follows: if the husband works at our plant and the wife is at Gomselmash [Gomel Agricultural Machinery Plant], there should be enough food products on the family table," said Aleynik to applause at a city party conference.

The approach here is like Kamay....

This is not the first time that I have written about the first secretaries but I am evermore convinced that their lives are not to be envied. Any step taken is seen by hundreds and thousands and any voiced idea is on the whetstone of public opinion. If one could only include within a newspaper sketch even part of those concerns which beset Aleksey Stepanovich Kamay.

...It is drawing dark and there is a snowstorm. Kamay enters a store and gets in line for the counter. He pays for his purchase and then someone recognizes him. They gather around asking questions and a discussion ensues so that by the end of a quarter of an hour they are no longer in the store but rather on the square where they came out. Or again Kamay in the village beset by fear of neighboring on the radioactive zone. A furious woman with large work-worn hands was shouting.

"You have mineral water, they bring it in but we...we drink water out of poisoned wells!"

"There now," said Aleksey Stepanovich calmly and, taking the woman gently under the arm, led her to the well.

Before the very eyes of the crowd electrified by expectation, the obkom first secretary took a ladle off the gate and bending over took a long drink of water. He drank clear, stunningly icy water! Then he summoned the dosimeter operator: "Take a sample, calm down!..." But the woman laughed happily:

"You, Aleksey Stepanovich, are one of us. Great! There should be more like you in the village...."

There are many such "shots" in my traveling notebook. If one tried to paint them in fuller there would be no room for telling about the Health Program according to which the oblast in a short period of time covered itself with a network of new hospitals and FAP (feldsher-obstetric station). The young but experienced head of the oblast public health section Anton Alekseyevich Romanovskiy, in being strongly supported by the obkom, was testing the question of organizing a medical faculty under the university.... Let me emphasize these "shots" as I cannot even mention how energetically Albert Semenovich Shaginyan, the rector of the Gomel Polytechnical Institute set to transforming the VUZ curriculum; I would forget to say that new schools and new nurseries and creches are being built here without fail with swimming pools and with maximum sports facilities. There is concern for the health of the younger generation, concern for tomorrow.

In the evenings, returning from the farms or from the enterprises, I looked in on the obkom. An emptiness of offices locked for the night. A wedge of orange light came from under the door behind which a watchman stood guard.

Aleksey Stepanovich was still in his office.

"But why is he always here?" I reflected. He has a car waiting. Industry is on the upswing in the countryside....(about the countryside, incidentally, we must say a special word: in the oblast there are no farms operating at a loss and the profitability of kolkhoz-sovkhoz production is over 30 percent).

Kamay rose to greet me. He was a short man, not very strong physically, but always energetic and attentive. And he said, with a slight burr, for example, the following:

"Here I am busting my brains over the problems of Gomselmash."

And here there was no argument as there was something to mull over. Gomselmash is an unique enterprise. A powerful production base with 35,000 workers. But by its lack of initiative and conservatism the previous leadership in cahoots with the presently replaced ministry had run this ship aground.... Now Gomselmash had a new director, Stanislav Stepanovich Drozd. An intelligent entrepreneur who was delicately sensitive of market conditions. And his assistants were effective, including the first, the labor collective council headed by the highest-class tool maker Petr Kupriyanovich Kovalev. In common they seek out and more and more frequently find solutions to difficult situations. For instance, there was the following unusual episode: in one secondary school they had to open 33 (!) first-year classrooms. Is there no concern for building a new school?! But the

greatest concern for the plant workers today is the Polesye-250 combine. A new and very intelligent machine which should carry out a revolution in feed production. The combine is undergoing testing and the day is drawing near when it will go into series production, but for now....

"For now the plant is operating at a minus, with losses," Kamay reflected out loud. "Why?"

The next day he sought an answer to this question together with the leaders and collective of Gomselmash.

Another time I caught him close to night working over a map which was covered by pencil lines of different colors. This was the ill-famed map which carefully marked out both the radioactive zone around Chernobyl and the state reserve guarding the roads to it.

In the morning, we arrived at the airport, got into a helicopter and took off.

There followed 5 hours of an air journey over settlements where the huts stood blind with broken windows and the chimneys over them were without smoke and the snow was untouched by the foot of man or beast. There was a new facility all spic and span. It had been completed in January and in April disaster struck. The forest had turned brown from the radiation which had impregnated it. There was the reactor encased in its sarcophagus. And the chain across the road leading into the restricted zone.

We landed next to this barrier. Up to our knees in heavy snow, we approached a black, seemingly carbonized table under a black, dead oak. On the table, also black, stood a forgotten aluminum cup.

"The field camp of equipment operators," explained Aleksey Stepanovich. "The day before the disaster, I had lunch here with the fellows."

Perhaps it was one of these fellows who phoned him immediately after the disaster?

In Mozyr where we landed for fuel, I climbed out of the helicopter depressed and devastated. And understanding my feelings perfectly, Kamay said to the pilot:

"Now, let's go to Oktyabrskiy!"

For the uninitiated, the settlement of Oktyabrskiy is the capital of the Rudobelsk Republic which was famous during the war years. It was partisan territory unconquered by the Nazis. It was the symbol of the struggle and the symbol of life....

Today is not a time to be blue, it is a time to set to work—this was how I assessed the movement of his soul. And Kamay's work style is one of attack.

Reader Deplores UkSSR Party, Government Secrecy

18000367 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 88 p 1

[Article by M. Odinets: "For Official Use"]

[Text] Before the Pecherskiy Rayon party conference pamphlets were passed out to us, the delegates, which told how the rayon had developed in recent years. I wanted to take one home and tell my people how we had grown and built up, and then suddenly saw the note "for official use."

That surprised me. What kind of secrets are there in how many buildings were built or how things stand with molding party ranks? Speaking at the conference I devoted a significant part of my talk to the fact that excessive secrecy and restricting access to the most elementary informational materials contradicts the spirit of restructuring and the atmosphere of glasnost.

After my talk, which was supported by several other speakers, we were allowed to keep the informational materials "For Official Use" as a memento. But what is the general situation with excessive secrecy; certainly it is not useful?

[Signed] N. Suk, leader of the Kievgorstroytrans Association ATP-3 Driver Brigade, Kiev.

PRAVDA reader and Communist N. Suk is right: we have way too much secrecy. Under the glass on my desk in front of me is a list of the leaders of the oblasts in the

Ukraine—the first and other secretaries of party obkoms, chairmen of oblispolkoms, their deputies and Komsomol leaders. Now what could there be secret in this paper? Everywhere in the oblasts people know them, and they know their positions. But the list of the officials is classified; there is a number on it, followed by an asterisk (whose purpose is known only to the maker of the list) and the words "For Official Use."

Well all right, suppose that someone thinks such information on a republic scale represents a state secret, although that is ridiculous; what about within the city of Kiev, can such a list be open or not? It turns out that it cannot, and there too is the stamp with the number and asterisk.

Look at the telephone books prepared by various governmental organs, sector headquarters, and organizations who have far-flung institutional networks. If it is a phone book, then it is "For Official Use." An outsider cannot look at it. The other day the Ukrainian Council of Unions sent a list of their telephone numbers, also marked "For Official Use."

People who come to the PRAVDA news office in Kiev to complain state the justified reproach that a significant share of the republic institutions are protected against visitors by guards. You cannot find a list of the last names of the secretaries who head departments at the gorkom, obkom, or CC of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Can this also really be for considerations of secrecy?

LaSSR Government Decree on 1949 Deportation of Latvians

Text of Decree

18300233 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
12 Nov 88 p 4

[Decree on the "Unjustified Deportation of Citizens from the Latvian SSR" issued by the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, 2 November 1988]

[Text] Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Decree on the Unjustified Administrative Deportation of Citizens From the Latvian SSR in 1949

To have done with the consequences of the violations of socialist legality which occurred in the Latvian SSR at the time of collectivization the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers resolves:

1. To abrogate Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decrees 282 of 17 March 1949 "Deportation of Kulak Families From the Latvian SSR" and 297 of 24 March 1949 (on the procedure of confiscation of the property of the deportees) and to consider the deportation of all citizens in accordance with the said decrees unjustified and to recognize their rehabilitation.

2. That the Latvian SSR Ministry of Justice in conjunction with the Latvian SSR Ministry of Finance following coordination with the Latvian SSR MVD, Latvian SSR Ministry of Municipal Services, Latvian SSR Ministry of Social Security and Latvian SSR Council of Ministers Main Archives Administration draw up and confirm prior to 15 November 1988 regulations governing the procedure of the return of property or restitution of its value to the citizens unjustifiably administratively deported from the Latvian SSR and also their housing and pension support.

3. That the Latvian SSR Procuracy, Latvian SSR MVD, Latvian SSR KGB and Commission for Examining the Petitions of Persons Concerning the Recognition as Unjustified of the Administrative Deportation from the Latvian SSR continue work on the review of cases concerning the conviction and administrative deportation of other citizens from the Latvian SSR in the 1940's-1950's in accordance with the decisions of union authorities.

4. That when settling questions concerning the return to rehabilitated citizens of property confiscated at the time of their deportation or compensation for the losses they suffered the rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms (cities of republic jurisdiction) simultaneously perform together with the procuracy, internal affairs and state security authorities the appropriate work on ascertaining the organizers, perpetrators and other participants in the repression who engaged in abuse of authority and displayed cruelty and notify the Latvian SSR Procuracy of this.

Comments on Decree

18300233 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
19 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with L.L. Bartkevich, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers: "En Route to the Law-Based State"]

[Text] Justice will necessarily prevail, however long it is necessary to wait for this. For 28,000 inhabitants of Latvia who in Stalin's time were as members of kulak families deported to the east of the country it has been restored after almost 40 years: the republic Council of Ministers has adopted the decree "Unjustified Administrative Deportation of Citizens From the Latvian SSR in 1949". LATINFORM correspondent S. Prokoshenko asked L.L. Bartkevich, chairman of the Commission for Examining the Petitions of Persons Concerning the Recognition as Unjustified of Administrative Deportation From the Latvian SSR and deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, to comment on this.

It is well known that the original meaning of the "kulak" concept acquired a broader interpretation at the time of the Stalin lawlessness and that it was mainly peasants of average means—simply good proprietors who knew how to and liked to work—who were subjected to repression. Their property and buildings were confiscated, and the people themselves, together with their families, were resettled in the North, Siberia and the Far East.

Unfortunately, the flagrant mistakes of the rash and forcible collectivization of the peasant farms of the start of the 1930's were repeated after the war in the republics of the Soviet Baltic. A decision was adopted in 1949 on the deportation from the republic of 10,000 kulak families. This was all the more monstrous in that such a number of kulaks simply did not exist. Why was it necessary to deport precisely 10,000 families? Why not 12,000 or, for example, 8,000? On the basis of what data was this figure determined?

The lists of actual kulaks could have been compiled in so short a time only on the basis of the latest peasant farm census, but it had been conducted in Latvia only in 1939, that is, back in the time of the bourgeois government. Yet since then the peasants of Latvia had together with the whole country experienced a war which had cost considerable human and material losses. In addition, in 1947 the farms which had been declared kulak were taxed such that all their real and imaginary wealth was quite soon reduced to nothing. Nonetheless, the above-mentioned decision was made 2 years later. Compilation of the lists for deportation was entrusted to the local authorities, and the specific agents hereby acquired practically complete freedom of action. Their endeavor to fulfill the instruction from above at any price inevitably led to unjustified decisions. Besides, great opportunities were afforded in the atmosphere of lawlessness for settling personal scores with people not to one's liking, even if these were poor peasants. Nonetheless,

even this "official zeal" did not help fulfill the plan—"only" 9,250 families, deprived of property and shelter, said farewell to their native parts. Twentyeight thousand destinies crippled by injustice!

If it is allowed, incidentally, that all these people were in fact kulaks, the deportation decision still lacked legal force since it was contrary to the laws even of that time. What happened became possible under the conditions of the cult of personality, when legality was merely declared and could be substituted by the command of one man.

In the latter half of the 1950's the citizens deported from the republic acquired the opportunity to leave their place of settlement, but that was all. Cases concerning their rehabilitation were examined only individually. The first commission for examining the petitions of persons administratively deported from the Latvian SSR was formed in June 1965. In 20 years it examined only a few dozen cases, and, furthermore, and there was no question of any compensation for those rehabilitated at that time.

Our commission set to work in April 1988. In the process of study of the cases we obtained constant evidence that the mass deportation of so-called kulak families had been carried out in clear violation of the legislation in force at that time. For this reason the commission reached the conclusion of the need to altogether abrogate the 1949 decree as unlawful.

And so it is that now, almost 40 years later, the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers has restored justice. The deportation of the citizens has been recognized as unjustified, and they have all been rehabilitated. In accordance with the government decision, the victims themselves or their heirs will be compensated for their losses and real estate will be returned as far as possible or monetary compensation therefor will be paid—unfailingly. The competent authorities have been instructed in November even to draw up regulations governing the procedure of the return of confiscated property or restitution of its value. I believe that the total amount of compensation could be R20-25 million. They will be allocated from two principal sources. The first is the republic budget, the second, resources of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which must either return to the victims residences and farm buildings or make restitution for their value. When the above-mentioned regulations have been drawn up, the citizens to whom the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers decree applies will be able to address on matters of compensation the ispolkoms of the rayons whence they were deported.

The government decree contains a few further clauses. It stipulates specially, for example, that it is essential that the soviet establishments together with the procuracy, internal affairs and state security authorities perform work on ascertaining the organizers and perpetrators of the mass repression who indulged in cruelty and abuse of authority. The competent organizations, including our commission, will continue their activity pertaining to examination of

cases concerning the conviction and deportation of citizens from the republic in other periods. After all, 60,469 persons were deported from Latvia from 1941 through 1952, and deported not only as members of so-called kulak families but for various other reasons also. Work is now being performed on a draft republic Supreme Soviet Presidium edict recognizing once for all as illegal all administrative deportations of citizens from the territory of the Latvian SSR carried out in 1941-1952 on the basis of anticonstitutional decisions.

UkSSR Academy of Sciences Revives Commission on Historical Documents

18110034a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 27 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by P. Sokhan, chairman, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Commission on Historical Documents, corresponding member of UkSSR Academy of Sciences: "Historical Document Specialists Confer"]

[Text] A republic conference was held in the Ukrainian capital, dealing with the present state of and development prospects for the preparation and publication of historical documents in the Ukraine. Specialists in various fields from the institutes of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Section, from higher educational institutions, archives, museums and libraries, party and civic activists, as well as guests from Moscow and Leningrad discussed the fact that glasnost and democracy are creating favorable conditions for clearing out obstacles in the area of preservation and truthful analysis and treatment of the cultural heritage of the people as a whole and, in particular, various historical sources pertaining to this heritage, for during the period of Stalinism and stagnation this extraordinarily important work, as necessary as the air we breathe for healthy functioning of the cultural organism of society, was distorted and practically brought to a halt.

By decision of the Presidium of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, the activities of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Commission on Historical Documents have been resumed. This commission has been assigned, as one of its principal tasks, coordination of the activities of all establishments, scholarly institutions and publishing houses within the republic. According to the conferees, this conference, essentially the first to be held since the war, is an important event in this republic's scholarly and cultural affairs. There is a need for fundamental improvement in efforts pertaining to search for, examination, scholarly processing and publication of various materials pertaining to the history and culture of the Ukrainian people.

The conferees discussed and adopted bylaws for the historical documents commission as a scholarly coordination center for the preparation and publication of historical documents in the Ukraine. A large number of

proposals were submitted, which were incorporated into the comprehensive plan for publication of various historical and cultural documents from earliest times to the present day. Working groups of specialists were formed, to prepare for publication large bodies of documents as well as individual series of publications dealing with a number of the most important problems which evoke particular interest among the public. These include in particular bodies of documents dealing with history of the Soviet period covering the 1920's-1930's and the period of stagnation; materials pertaining to such a unique social phenomenon as the history of the Zaporogian Cossacks and the War of Liberation of the Ukrainian People, 1648-1654; monuments of early Russian and Ukrainian annals literature; sources pertaining to the history of Ukrainian culture; official documents from the 10th to the 18th century; eastern sources dealing with history of the Ukraine; monuments of national historiography and the ethnographic-folkloric heritage; documents pertaining to historical relations between the Ukraine, other peoples of the USSR, and foreign countries. At the proposal of the conferees, a resolution was passed calling for establishing a commission to study the scholarly legacy of noted Ukrainian historian M. S. H. ishevskyy.

The conferees expressed great concern over the fact that already today many corpora of documents and individual monuments of great historical significance, both from the archives of the Kosh [Cantonment] of the Zaporogian Sech and others, are in such a state of physical deterioration that they may be lost forever if they are not published in the near future.

In many foreign countries this problem, as well as the establishment of a well-organized reference and bibliographic service, is being successfully resolved by the extensive use of printing and copying equipment as well as computers, without which it is today impossible to attain the needed level of performance in the field of historical documents publication.

It was decided to establish historical documents commission branch organizations in Dnepropetrovsk and Lvov in order to expand and activate work on publication of historical documents in the various regions of the republic, as these two cities contain groups of specialists in this

field. In the future, if personnel are available, branch organizations will be established in other cities as well. In view of the acute need for persons qualified in the field of historical documents publication, emphasis was placed on the need to expand the training of specialist personnel through efforts of the UkSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, university departments and graduate programs.

The Ukrainian public is greeting with interest a series of publications of sources entitled "Pamyatky ukrayinskoyi movy" [Monuments of the Ukrainian Language], which is being published by the Institute of Linguistics imeni O. O. Potebnya, and a series of monuments dealing with history of philosophical thought in the Ukraine (UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy).

Considerable reader interest is also being aroused by a series of publications proposed by the Institute of Literature imeni T. H. Shevchenko, to be put out by the Dnipro Publishing House, entitled "Davnyoruski ta davni ukrayinski litopysy" [Early Russian and Early Ukrainian Chronicles], as well as such works as "Dokumenty slidchoyi spravy Kyrylo-Mefodiyivskoho tovarystva" [Research Documents of the Cyril and Methodius Society], in three volumes, the three-volume "Istoriya zaporizkykh kozakiv" [History of the Zaporogian Cossacks] by D. I. Yavornytsky, "Opys Ukrayiny" [Description of the Ukraine] by French traveler and cartographer Beauplant, and others, prepared for publication by the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, with the participation of specialists from the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Commission on Historical Documents.

However, as was noted at the conference, adequate material-financial and legal support for the planned projects and attention by all government agencies, establishments and organizations with an interest in this matter are essential in order to improve matters in the area of publication of historical documents in this republic. Only through joint efforts can we correct the critical situation in the area of preservation and utilization of monuments of the cultural heritage of our people.

S. O. Shmidt, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Commission on Historical Documents, took part in the conference proceedings.

Director of UkSSR Video Center on Video Production

18110026a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA
in Ukrainian 2 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview with I. Lymar, director of the Ukrainian Video Center, by RADYANSKA UKRAYINA reporter Yu. Lytvynenko: "With the Ukrainian Video Center label: 'Week of the Mermaid' and Others"]

[Text] As was publicly announced, at the beginning of the year the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers made the decision to establish in Kiev a republic creative artistry-production association under the name Ukrainian Video Center. A partial list of activities in which the video center is engaged includes making films and other video products, producing distribution copies, rentals and commercial exhibit, development of a network of video distribution facilities, distribution of video films for national and republic TV viewing, and distribution to the foreign video market.

What has been accomplished to date? What films have been produced? What is the video center currently working on? What are plans for the future? Our readers ask these and other questions in letters to the editors. We asked I. Lymar, director of the Ukrainian Video Center, to answer these questions.

[Lymar] First of all I should like to note that the great majority of films on which we are working are national in theme. We shall continue elaboration and deepening of this theme. We plan to produce a number of video films about our outstanding people, famous Ukrainian creative artists—singers, actors, writers, and painters.

In the future we plan to produce a series of films about the Soviet Ukraine, its historic old cities and towns, landmarks, protected sites, and the treasures of its museums.

We have already accomplished some results in this area. The Odessa Film Studios have made for us a first video film, entitled "Week of the Mermaid." This film is about famous Ukrainian singer People's Artist of the Ukraine Nina Matviyenko. The film was written and directed by Natalya Motuzko.

We are collaborating with the Canadian firm Trigold Productions Incorporated on a film about folk traditions entitled "Song of the Ukraine." Production is in the concluding stages. The film is directed by Yuriy Tkachenko, with the screenplay by poet Mykhaylo Tkach and Canadian Ostap Homulyaka.

At the Film Studio imeni O. Dovzhenko work has been completed on a feature film dealing with a sensitive political subject, based on Mykola Kulish's play "The Zone." The screenplay was written by Ivan Drach and Mykola Mashchenko, and the film is directed by M.

Mashchenko and S. Shakhbazyan. Although the play was written in 1926 and first published in 1988, it deals with problems which ring true to our time.

At the Kiev Popular Science Film Studio director Viktor Olender and screenwriter Igor Sabelnikov are working on a film about ESP.

We plan to produce a series of films about this republic's choral and dance ensembles, about famous Ukrainian writers Dmytro Pavlychko, Borys Oliynyk, Lina Kostenko, and others.

Important projects include producing Ukrainian classics for the screen: "U nedilyu rano..." [Early One Sunday Morning by Olha Kobylanska, "Eneyida" [Aeneid] by I. Kotlyarevskyy, "Bezstalanna" [The Ungifted] by I. Karpenko-Karyy, and "Oderzhyma" [The Possessed] by Lesa Ukrainka.

We are not limiting ourselves to Ukrainian classics, however. Work is completed on a screenplay based on Sholem Aleichem's novel "Wandering Stars." The film will be directed by Vsevolod Shylovskyy.

Among contemporary writers, we are planning a miniseries based on Volodymyr Maluk's novel "Posol Urus Shaytana" [Emissary Urus Shaytana]. Work is in progress on a musical film fantasy with screenplay by noted Leningrad writer Rudi Pogodin, entitled "Tournament in the Kingdom of Thiofigas."

We have many projects for the future. Unfortunately, however, our capabilities are very limited. At present we do not have our own production and technical facilities. The video center should be an integrated complex with production studios, exhibition halls, and shops. We also lack video camera equipment. It must be purchased abroad. Unfortunately, at the present time we are not manufacturing our own equipment. Hard currency is needed to purchase such equipment. We have not yet earned any hard currency....

We realize that we should make films which would have a ready market abroad. Then we shall have foreign currency for purchasing equipment.

In order for the video center to function normally, it is also essential to develop a video network. At the present time there are approximately 220 state video units in this republic. By the end of the five-year plan there are to be 600, but there should be approximately 10,000 in order for the Video Center to operate in a normal fashion. We have our work cut out for us.

There are also a number of other substantial problems, namely where to purchase video equipment, where to get it repaired, where to obtain the needed consultation on operation of electronic equipment, plus many other items, for the ranks of "home movie" enthusiasts are growing year by year.

Editor's note: Incidentally, our readers also write letters to the editors addressing these questions. We invite you to write us, esteemed comrades and video film fans, about everything which is of concern to you. We shall not ignore your wishes, advice, or comments. We shall be grateful for your input.

Transcripts of Brodskiy's Trial Published

18000381 Moscow OGOEK in Russian
No 49, 3-10 Dec 88 pp 26-31

[Transcription and notes of the trial of Iosif Brodskiy held at the Leningrad Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Court on 18 February 1964, compiled by F. Vigdorova, with introduction by Lidiya Chukovskaya: "The High Court"]

[Text]

The ABC's of Glasnost

"Stop taking notes!" the judge demands. Frida Vigdorova does not stop.

"Take away her notes!" someone in the courtroom shouts.

Vigdorova continues writing, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly.

"You there, the one who is writing! Take away her notes and be done with it!"

Frida stubbornly keeps on. And indeed, how could she not write; how could she refrain? Every figure present is out of Gogol, Saltykov-Shchedrin, or Zoshchenko. The people's assessors, the public prosecutor, and the judge. What a judge—a model of illegality; what a prosecutor—an incoherent roar of militant ignorance. What a report—a fake. They are trying a literary man, but the last thing the audience that is assembled is prepared to understand is literature.

Life is a great artist, but it rarely manages to create such an expressive phenomenon with such absolute finality. They are not trying just anyone, but a poet, and not for just anything, but for idleness, for parasitism. In the courtroom two forces that have opposed one another for ages, the intelligentsia and the bureaucracy, clash. The power of the lofty word and the power of the official instruction and formalistic governmental style.

At the middle of the clash—probably for the graphic quality!—life has placed a poet. And to record how he is mocked it has assigned a woman equally talented, equally righteous, energetic, demanding of herself, and bold.

The name of the teacher, writer, and journalist Frida Abramovna Vigdorova (1915-1965) became especially well-known in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Her articles in the press, in IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, helped more than once to restore justice.

But the record of the two trials of Iosif Brodskiy was not to be published. No newspaper would risk making it public. The document, which combines literary description with absolute accuracy, passed from hand to hand and was tirelessly copied on typewriters by the many devotees of Brodskiy's poetry. This record became one of the first works of the just-emerging Samizdat. Hundreds of people in our Homeland read it, and it also made its way to the West. Its role grew with every day: F. Vigdorova presented legally substantiated petitions to all levels, and to all the appeals, petitions, and requests she attached her transcript.

The irrefutably accurate document which exposes lawlessness made a strong impression on all those who read it, except those to whom it was addressed. The bureaucrats at the Ministry of Justice knew that the true organizers of the reprisal against Brodskiy were very highly placed people. So what newspaper, what sensible bureaucrat would risk opposing official authority in those days? (And how many would do so today?)

Brodskiy was defended by the many devotees of his poetry—practically all the young intelligentsia of Leningrad. So what! That made it all the worse for them and for him! Literary people and scientists, members of the Writers' Union, and nonwriters who had attended the trial or had just read Vigdorova's transcript afterwards spoke out for [Brodskiy] N. Grudinina, N. Dolinina, E. Linetskaya, D. Dar, B. Vakhtin, Ya. Gordin, R. Orlov, L. Kopelev, V. Ivanov, A. Ivich, Ye. Gnedin, I. Rozhanskiy, N. Kind, M. Polivanov, and others. At the trial Writers' Union members and professors at the Pedagogical Institute imeni Herzen V.G. Admoni and Ye.G. Etkind, skilled writers, theoreticians, and experts in translation and poetry, spoke highly of his talent. But what did they with all their writings and erudition mean to the highly placed secretaries? They meant practically nothing. It is true that before, during, and after the trial famous people such as Anna Akhmatova, D. Shostakovich, K. Paustovskiy, S. Marshak, and K. Chukovskiy spoke out tellingly for Brodskiy. It was difficult to scorn their opinion. Therefore the judges resorted to another method: they did not let their names be spoken in the courtroom. The court did not allow the lawyer, Brodskiy's defense attorney Z.N. Toporova, to read their telegrams and letters. They feared that upon hearing a famous name some of the people in the courtroom might come to their senses.

The outline of the questioning was: "Tell the court why you did not work." "I did work. I wrote poems." "Tell why you did not labor." "I did labor. I wrote poems." "And why didn't you study that in school?" "I thought...I thought it was a gift from God."

Confidence in the unconditional character of his gift demanded that Brodskiy deepen and broaden his knowledge. He studied several languages on his own and tirelessly read books on the history of literature and on philosophy. He was captivated by creative labor from his adolescent years. Infatuation with original labor is infectious—more than that, like any concentrated spiritual force it is power. To the ordinary bureaucratic society it is dangerous.

The record made by Frida Vigdorova forced each person who read this artistic document to live through the trial with anger and bitterness, as if they themselves were being humiliated. Such is the power of art. I think that the contemporary reader, upon becoming involved with the story, will experience the same pain.

To Brodskiy fell the enviable lot of defending—and defending to the end!—the honor of Russian poetry. At home and abroad. The honor of arming the intelligentsia to resist the bureaucracy fell to Frida Vigdorova. Brodskiy's stubborn defenders prevented the bureaucracy from destroying the poet. Brodskiy returned from exile not after 5 years, but after just one and a half.

They did not meet, Iosif Brodskiy and Frida Vigdorova. She died of cancer on 7 August 1965, a month before he was freed.

[Signed: Lidiya Chukovskaya]

First Trial of Iosif Brodskiy—Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Courtroom, Leningrad, Ulitsa Vosstaniya, 36, 18 February 1964. Judge Savelyeva

[Judge] What is your occupation?

[Brodskiy] I write poems. I translate. I believe...

[Judge] No "I believe's." Stand up properly! Don't lean against the wall! Look at the court! Answer the court properly! (To me) Stop writing right now! Or I will send you out of the courtroom! (To Brodskiy) Do you have permanent work?

[Brodskiy] I thought that that was permanent work.

[Judge] Answer exactly!

[Brodskiy] I wrote poems. I thought that they would be published. I believe...

[Judge] We are not interested in your "I believe's." Answer, why didn't you work?

[Brodskiy] I worked. I wrote poems.

[Judge] That does not interest us. We are interested in what institution you were associated with.

[Brodskiy] I had contracts with a publishing house.

[Judge] Then go ahead and answer. Do you have enough contracts to feed yourself? List them, the effective dates, and the amounts of money.

[Brodskiy] I don't remember exactly. My lawyer has all my contracts.

[Judge] I am asking you.

[Brodskiy] Two books with my translations came out in Moscow. (He names them.)

[Judge] How many years of labor have you put in?

[Brodskiy] About...

[Judge] We are not interested in "about"!

[Brodskiy] 5 years.

[Judge] Where did you work?

[Brodskiy] At a plant, and in geological parties...

[Judge] How long did you work at the plant?

[Brodskiy] A year.

[Judge] In what job?

[Brodskiy] Grinding machine operator.

[Judge] In general, what is your specialization?

[Brodskiy] Poet, poet-translator.

[Judge] And who recognized this, that you are a poet? Who counted you among the poets?

[Brodskiy] No one. (Unsolicited) But who counted me a member of the human race?

[Judge] Did you study this?

[Brodskiy] What?

[Judge] To be a poet? You didn't trouble yourself to finish college where they train...where they teach...

[Brodskiy] I didn't think...I didn't think that this is done through education.

[Judge] Through what then?

[Brodskiy] I think it is...(uncertainly) from God...

[Judge] Do you have a motion for the court?

[Brodskiy] I would like to know what I was arrested for?

[Judge] That is a question, not a motion.

[Brodskiy] Then I do not have a motion.

[Judge] Does the defense have questions?

[Attorney] Yes. Citizen Brodskiy, do you contribute your earnings to your family?

[Brodskiy] Yes.

[Attorney] Do your parents also earn money?

[Brodskiy] They are pensioners.

[Attorney] Do you live together?

[Brodskiy] Yes.

[Attorney] Therefore your money has gone to the family budget?

[Judge] You are not asking questions. You are helping him answer. Don't summarize; ask questions.

[Attorney] Are you enrolled at a psychiatric clinic?

[Brodskiy] Yes.

[Attorney] Did you go through hospital treatment?

[Brodskiy] Yes, from the end of December 1963 to 5 January of this year in the Hospital imeni Kashchenko in Moscow.

[Attorney] Don't you think that your illness prevented you from working at one place regularly for a long time?

[Brodskiy] Maybe. Probably. But I don't know. No, I don't know.

[Attorney] Did you translate poems for an anthology of Cuban poets?

[Brodskiy] Yes.

[Attorney] Did you translate collections of old Spanish ballads?

[Brodskiy] Yes.

[Attorney] Are you associated with the translation section of the Writers' Union?

[Brodskiy] Yes.

[Attorney] I ask the court to file in this matter the reference letter of the bureau of the translation section, a list of published poems, copies of contracts, a telegram saying, "We ask that you hurry and sign the contract." (She lists them. From just this list it is obvious that the charge of parasitism is dust.) And I request that Citizen Brodskiy be sent for a medical examination to determine the state of his health and whether it prevented him from working regularly. Furthermore I request that Citizen Brodskiy be immediately released from incarceration. I do not think that he has committed any crimes and that keeping him under guard is unlawful. He has a permanent place of residence and can appear on the court's summons at any time.

(The court withdraws to confer. They then return and the judge reads the order.)

[Judge] He will be sent for forensic psychiatric examination to answer the question of whether Brodskiy suffers from a mental illness and **whether this illness prevents Brodskiy from being sent to remote locations for compulsory labor.** Return the file to the militia for additional checking on his earnings. Because it is clear from the case history that Brodskiy avoided hospitalization, it is proposed that militia department No 18 deliver him for undergoing the forensic psychiatric examination.

[Judge] Do you have any questions?

[Brodskiy] I have a request, that I be given paper and a pen in my cell.

[Judge] You request that from the chief of the militia.

[Brodskiy] I did, and he refused. I request paper and a pen.

[Judge] (softening) All right. I will allow it.

[Brodskiy] Thank you.

(When we left the courtroom we saw an enormous number of people, especially young people, in the corridors and on the stairway.)

[Judge] What a crowd! I didn't expect that so many people would come.

[Voice from the crowd] It's not every day that a poet is tried!

[Judge] To us it is all the same, poet or not!

(In the opinion of defense attorney Z.N. Toporova, Judge Savelyeva should have released Brodskiy from incarceration so that he could go to the assigned psychiatric hospital by himself the next day for the expert examination. But she kept him under arrest, so he was taken to the hospital under guard.)

Second Trial of Iosif Brodskiy—Hall in the Construction Workers' Club, Leningrad, Fontanka, 22, 13 March 1964. Judge Savelyeva

The findings of the expert examination read: "He has psychopathological traits, but he is able to work. Therefore administrative measures may be applied to him."

People arriving at the trial are greeted by a sign: "The Trial of Parasite Brodskiy." The large hall at the Construction Workers' Club is filled with people.

"All rise! Court is in session!"

Judge Savelyeva asks Brodskiy what motions he has for the court. It turns out that he has not been able to look at the file, either before the first trial or now. The judge declares a break. Brodskiy is taken out so that he can look at the file. After a time he is brought in and says that the poems on pages 141, 143, 155, 200, and 234 (he lists them) are not his. Furthermore, he requests that the diary he kept in 1956, that is when he was 16 years old, not be included in the file. The defense attorney joins in this request.

[Judge] With respect to what are called his poems we will consider it, but with respect to his personal notebook there is no need to remove it. Citizen Brodskiy, since 1956 you have changed jobs 13 times. You worked at a plant for a year, then did not work for half a year. In the summer you were in a geological party, and then did not work for 4 months (she lists the places of work and gaps in work following them). Explain to the court why during these gaps you did not work and led a parasitic way of life?

[Brodskiy] I did work in the gaps. I worked at what I work at today. I wrote poems.

[Judge] You mean you wrote your so-called poems? And what use is there in the fact that you changed jobs frequently?

[Brodskiy] I went to work at 15. I was interested in everything. I changed jobs because I wanted to learn as much as possible about life and people.

[Judge] And what did you do that was useful to the Homeland?

[Brodskiy] I wrote poems. That is my work. I am convinced...I believe that what I wrote will be a service to people, and not just today but also for future generations.

[Voice from the public] Look at that. He is imagining things.

[Another voice] He's a poet. He has to think that way.

[Judge] You mean that you think that your so-called poems will be useful to people?

[Brodskiy] But why do you say "so-called" poems?

[Judge] We call your poems "so-called" poems because that is the only understanding of them we have.

[Sorokin] (public prosecutor, included in the composition of the court over the objection of Brodskiy and his defense attorney): You are speaking of future generations. Do you think that people today don't understand you?

[Brodskiy] I didn't say that. My poems simply haven't been published yet, and people don't know them.

[Sorokin] Do you think that if they knew them they would accept them?

[Brodskiy] Yes.

[Sorokin] You say that you have a very highly developed sense of curiosity. Then why didn't you want to serve in the Soviet Army?

[Brodskiy] I am not going to answer such questions.

[Judge] Answer.

[Brodskiy] I was excused from military service. It's not that I "didn't want" to serve; I was excused. They are different things. I was excused twice. The first time it was because my father was sick, and the second time because of my illness.

[Sorokin] Can one live on the money that you earn?

[Brodskiy] Yes. When I was in prison every night I had to sign a paper saying that 40 kopecks a day was spent on me. And I earned more than 40 kopecks a day.

[Sorokin] But you have to have shoes, clothes.

[Brodskiy] I have one suit, an old one but it's okay. It's all I need.

[Defense Attorne,] Did specialists evaluate your poems?

[Brodskiy] Yes. Chukovskiy and Marshak spoke very highly of my translations. Better than I deserve.

[Attorney] Did you have an association with the Writers' Union translation section?

[Brodskiy] Yes. I appeared in the almanac called "Vpervyye na russkom yazyke" [For the First Time in Russian], and I read my translations from Polish.

[Judge] (to defense attorney): You must ask him about useful work, and you are asking about literary appearances.

[Defense Attorney] His translations are useful work.

[Judge] It would be better, Brodskiy, if you would explain to the court why you didn't work in the gaps between jobs.

[Brodskiy] I did work. I wrote poems.

[Judge] But that wouldn't have prevented you from working.

[Brodskiy] But I was working. I wrote poems.

[Judge] But you know, there are people who work at a plant and write poems. What prevented you from doing that?

[Brodskiy] But you know, people are different. Even in hair color and facial expression...

[Judge] That is not your discovery. Everyone knows that. You'd be better off to explain how to assess your participation in our great progressive movement toward communism?

[Brodskiy] The building of communism is not just operating a machine and plowing the earth. It also includes mental labor, which...

[Judge] Drop the lofty phrases. You'd be better off to answer how you intend to structure your labor activity in the future.

[Brodskiy] I wanted to write poems and translate. But if that conflicts with some generally accepted norms I will take a permanent job and still write poems.

[Assessor Tyagiy] In our country every person works. Why did you go without work for so much time?

[Brodskiy] You do not consider my labor to be labor. I wrote poems, and I consider that labor.

[Judge] Did you draw the proper conclusions for yourself from the press?

[Brodskiy] Lerner's article was a lie. That is the only conclusion I drew.

[Judge] Does that mean that you didn't draw any other conclusions?

[Brodskiy] I did not. I do not consider myself a person who is leading a parasitic way of life.

[Defense Attorney] You said that the article "A Subliterary Drone" published in VECHERNIY LENINGRAD (published on 29 November 1963 and signed by A. Ionin and M. Medvedev in addition to Ya. Lerner. On 8 January 1964 the same paper, VECHERNIY LENINGRAD, published a selection of readers' letters under the general heading "Parasites Have No Place in Our City") was false. In what way?

[Brodskiy] Only my name was correct in it. Even my age was wrong. The poems are not even mine. In it people I hardly know or do not even know at all are called my friends. How could I consider this article correct and draw conclusions from it?

[Defense Attorney] You consider your labor useful. Will the witnesses I have called be able to corroborate this?

[Judge] (to the attorney, with irony): Is that the only reason that you called the witnesses?

[Sorokin] (to Brodskiy): How could you, independently, not using the labor of others, do translation from Serbian?

[Brodskiy] That is an ignorant question. Contracts sometimes presuppose use of a word-for-word rendition. I know Polish, and Serbian a little less well, but they are related languages and with a word-for-word rendition I could do my translation.

[Judge] Witness Grudinina.

[Grudinina] I have directed the work of beginning poets for more than 11 years. For 7 years I was a member of the commission for work with young authors. I am now director of older poets at the Pioneer Palace and head a group of young writers at the Svetlana Plant. At the request of a publishing house I compiled and edited four collective anthologies of young poets, in which more than 200 new names were included. So in practice I know the work of almost all the young poets of the city.

I am familiar with the work of Brodskiy, as a beginning poet, from his 1959 and 1960 poems. They were still flawed poems, but with striking innovations and images. I did not include them in the anthologies, but I considered the author capable. I did not meet Brodskiy personally until the autumn of 1963.

After publication of the article "A Subliterary Drone" in VECHERNIY LENINGRAD I called Brodskiy in for a talk, because the young people were besieging me with requests to intervene in the case of a man who had been slandered. When I asked him what he was working on at present, he answered that he had been studying languages and working on artistic translations for about a year and a half. I took copies of his translations to look over.

As a professional poet and literary scholar by education, I assert that Brodskiy's translations are done on a high professional level. Brodskiy has a specific, seldom-encountered talent for artistic translation of poetry. He gave me 368 lines of work, and in addition I read 120 lines of his poetry translations which had been published in Moscow editions.

From my personal experience with artistic translation I know that this volume of work demands at least a year and a half of heavy work, not counting dealings with poetry publishers and consulting specialists. The time needed for such dealings, as we know, is beyond calculation. If you use even the very lowest publishing rates for the translations which I saw with my own eyes, Brodskiy has already earned about 350 rubles of new money, and the only question is whether all that he has done will be published in full.

In addition to contracts for translations Brodskiy showed me contracts with radio and television for which the work was already done, but there too he had not been fully paid yet.

From my talk with Brodskiy and with people who know him I am aware that Brodskiy lives a very modest life, denies himself clothing and entertainment, and spends most of his time at his desk. The money he receives for his work he contributes to his family.

[Defense Attorney] Is it necessary in artistic translation to know the author's creative work in general?

[Grudinina] Yes, for good translations like those of Brodskiy you have to know the author's creative work and get inside his voice.

[Defense Attorney] Is the pay for translations lower if you work with a word-for-word rendition?

[Grudinina] Yes, it is. When I was translating Hungarian poets using word-for-word renditions I received a ruble (old money) less per line.

[Defense Attorney] Is it a practice of translators to work with word-for-word renditions?

[Grudinina] Yes, it is universal. One of the most important Leningrad translators, A. Gitovich, is translating from the Ancient Chinese using word-for-word renditions.

[Assessor Lebedeva] Is it possible to study a foreign language on your own?

[Grudinina] I studied two languages on my own in addition to those I studied at the university.

[Defense Attorney] If Brodskiy does not know the Serbian language, can he nonetheless do high-quality translation?

[Grudinina] Yes, of course.

[Defense Attorney] And do you consider the word-for-word rendition reprehensible use of someone else's labor?

[Grudinina] God forbid.

[Assessor Lebedeva] I am looking at a booklet here. In this one Brodskiy has only two little poems.

[Grudinina] I would like to offer some clarification regarding the specific features of literary labor. The thing is that...

[Judge] No, that isn't necessary. So now, what is your opinion of Brodskiy's poems?

[Grudinina] It is my opinion that as a poet he is very talented, and head and shoulders above many who are considered professional translators.

[Judge] But why does he work alone and not participate in any literary associations?

[Grudinina] In 1958 he requested to participate in my literary association. But I had heard of him as a hysterical young man and refused to accept him; I turned him away myself. Today I would gladly take him into my association and work with him, if he wanted.

[Assessor Tyaglyy] Have you personally ever seen him personally working on his poems, or using someone else's labor?

[Grudinina] I have not seen Brodskiy sitting and writing. But I have not seen Sholokhov sitting at his desk and writing either. But that doesn't mean that...

[Judge] It is out of place to compare Sholokhov and Brodskiy. Certainly you must have explained to the young people that the state demands that they go to school. But Brodskiy went only through the seventh grade.

[Grudinina] He has a very large store of knowledge. I became convinced of this in reading his translations.

[Sorokin] Have you read his bad, pornographic poems?

[Grudinina] No, never.

[Defense Attorney] Here is what I want to ask you, witness. Brodskiy's output for 1963 included the poems in the book "Zarya nad Kuboy" [Sunrise over Cuba], the translations of Galczyński (not yet published, it is true), the poems in the book "Yugoslavskiy poety" [Yugoslav Poets], the gaucho songs, and his publications in KOSTER. Can that be considered serious work?

[Grudinina] Yes, unquestionably. It is a full work year. And this work may not produce money now, not for a few years. It is incorrect to define the labor of a young poet by the royalties received at a given moment. The young writer may encounter failure; he may have to undertake new, prolonged tasks. There is a joke: the difference between a parasite and a young poet is that the parasite does not work and eats, while the young poet works but does not always eat.

[Judge] We did not like that statement of yours. In our country every person receives according to his labor and it is not possible that he would work a great deal and receive little. In our country, where such great attention is given to young poets, you say that they go hungry. Why did you say that young poets do not eat?

[Grudinina] That is not what I said. I advised that it was a joke which contained a grain of truth. Earnings are very irregular for young poets.

[Judge] But that depends on them. You do not have to explain that to us. All right, you have explained that your words were a joke. We accept the explanation.

(A new witness, Yefim Griroryevich Etkind, is summoned.)

[Judge] Give me your passport. For some reason it is not clear how to say your name. (She takes the passport.) Etkind...Yefim Gershevich...We are listening.

[Etkind] (member of the Writers' Union and teacher at the Institute imeni Herzen): By the nature of my public and literary work, which involves educating beginning translators, I often read and listen to the translations of young writers. About a year ago I had occasion to become familiar with the work of Brodskiy. These were translations of the fine Polish poet Galczynski, whose poems are still not well known here and have hardly been translated. The clarity of the poetic images, the music, passion, and energy of the verse made a powerful impression on me. I was also amazed that Brodskiy had studied Polish thoroughly on his own, without any outside help. He read Galczynski's poems in Polish with the same enthusiasm as his own Russian translations. I realized that I was dealing with a person of rare gifts and, just as important, rare diligence and persistence. The translations that I had occasion to read later strengthened this opinion in me. For example there are his translations of the Cuban poet Fernandez which were published in the book "Zarya nad Kuboy," and his translations from contemporary Yugoslav poets printed in the Goslitizdat anthology. I talked with Brodskiy a great deal and was amazed by his knowledge of American, English, and Polish literature.

Translation of poetry is very difficult work that demands persistence, knowledge, and talent. A literary person who takes this path can expect innumerable failures, and monetary income is a matter of the distant future. You

can translate poems for several years and not earn a ruble by it. Such labor demands a selfless love of poetry and of the labor itself. The study of languages, history, and the culture of another people—none of these things comes quickly. Everything that I know about Brodskiy's work convinces me that he has a great future as a poet and translator. That is not my opinion alone. The bureau of the translation section, upon learning that the publishing house had dissolved their contracts concluded with Brodskiy, adopted a unanimous decision to appeal to the director of the publishing house to put Brodskiy to work and restore contract relations with him.

I know for certain that such major authorities in the field of poetic translation as Marshak and Chukovskiy share this opinion. They...

[Judge] Speak for yourself only.

[Etkind] Brodskiy must be given the opportunity to work as a poet and translator. Far from a large city, where you cannot find the right books and there is no literary milieu, it is very hard, almost impossible. I repeat, it is my deep conviction that a great future awaits him on this path. I have to say that I was very surprised to see the announcement "Trial of the parasite Brodskiy."

[Judge] But you knew of this combination.

[Etkind] I did know, but I never thought that such a combination would be accepted by the court. With Brodskiy's poetic technique nothing would have prevented him from doing a careless job; he could have translated hundreds of lines if he had taken a less careful approach. The fact that he did not earn much money does not mean that he is not diligent.

[Judge] But why didn't he belong to any collective?

[Etkind] He visited our translation seminars.

[Judge] Well, seminars...

[Etkind] He belonged to this seminar in the sense that...

[Judge] But what if there was no sense in it (laughter in the hall). That is, I want to ask why did he not belong to any association?

[Etkind] We do not have membership, so I could not say he "belonged." He came to us and read his translations.

[Judge] (to Etkind): Have you had troubles at work, or in your personal life?

[Etkind] (in surprise): No. But I have not been at the institute for 2 days. Maybe something has happened there.

(It is apparent that neither the audience nor the witness understood the question.)

[Judge] Why was it, in speaking of Brodskiy's knowledge, that you stressed foreign literature? Why didn't you talk about our own national literature?

[Etkind] I talked with him as a translator, and so I was interested in his knowledge in the fields of American, English, and Polish literature. They are great, diverse, and deep literatures.

[Smirnov] (witness for the prosecution, head of the Defense House): I am not personally acquainted with Brodskiy, but I want to say that if all citizens took Brodskiy's attitude toward the accumulation of material assets we would not be able to build communism for a long time. Intelligence is a dangerous weapon for the one who possesses it. Everyone has said that he is intelligent, practically a genius. But no one has said what kind of person he is. He grew up in an intellectual family and he has only a seventh-grade education. So why don't those in attendance here say if they would like to have a son who has only seven years of schooling? He did not go into the army because he was his family's only breadwinner. But what kind of breadwinner is he? They say here that he is a talented translator, but why doesn't anybody say that he is very confused mentally? That he has written anti-Soviet lines?

[Brodskiy] That is not true.

[Smirnov] He has to change many of his ideas. I call in question the report which was given to Brodskiy at the nerve clinic concerning a nerve disease. These illustrious friends started ringing all the bells and demanding that the young man be saved! But he should be cured with forced labor, forced labor only, and no one will help him, no illustrious friends. I personally do not know him. I know about him only from the press. And I am familiar with the reports. I call in question the medical report that excused him from service in the army. I am not medical, but I question it.

[Brodskiy] When I was excused as the only breadwinner my father was ill, confined after a heart attack, and I worked and earned money. And then I became sick. What do you know about me, if you talk that way?

[Smirnov] I looked over your personal diary.

[Brodskiy] On what grounds?

[Judge] I do not allow that question.

[Smirnov] I read his poems.

[Defense Attorney] Now in the file there were poems that do not belong to Brodskiy. How do you know that the poems you read were really his? After all, you are talking about unpublished poems.

[Smirnov] I know, and that's that.

[Judge] Witness Logunov.

[Logunov] (deputy director of the Hermitage for administrative affairs): I am not personally acquainted with Brodskiy. I met him for the first time here, in court. To live like Brodskiy does is no longer possible. I would not envy the parents of such a son. I have worked with writers and moved in their circles. I compare Brodskiy with Oleg Shestinskiy. Oleg traveled with a propaganda group and he graduated from Leningrad State University and a university in Sofia. On top of that Oleg worked in a mine. I wanted to speak on the level that one must labor, and show a little of all the cultural habits. And then the poems that Brodskiy writes would be real poems. Brodskiy has to begin living in a new way.

[Defense Attorney] It is necessary, all the same, that witnesses speak about the facts. But these ones...

[Judge] You can give your assessment of the witnesses' testimony later. Witness Denisov.

[Denisov] (pipefitter at UNR-20): I don't know Brodskiy personally. I am familiar with him from articles in our press. I am speaking as a citizen and a representative of society. After the newspaper articles I was indignant at Brodskiy's work. I wanted to take a look at his books. I went to the library, and he has no books. I asked my friends if they knew him. No, they didn't. I am a worker. In my whole life I have changed jobs just twice. And Brodskiy? I don't like Brodskiy's testimony that he knew many specializations. No specialization can be learned in such a short time. They say that Brodskiy somehow presents himself as a poet. Then why wasn't he a member of a single association? Does he disagree with dialectical materialism? After all, Engels believed that labor created man. But Brodskiy doesn't like this formula. He thinks differently. He may be very talented, but why isn't he making his way in our literature? Why isn't he working? I want to give my opinion, that I as a worker am not satisfied with his labor activity.

[Judge] Witness Nikolayev.

[Nikolayev] (pensioner): I personally am not acquainted with Brodskiy. I want to say that I have known about him for 3 years from the pernicious influence which he has on his peers. I am a father. I have learned from my own experience how hard it is to have such a son, one who does not work. I have seen my son with Brodskiy's poems a number of times. A long 42-chapter poem and various other poems. I know Brodskiy from the Umanskiy case. There is a saying: tell me who your friends are... I knew Umanskiy personally. He is a diehard anti-Soviet. Listening to Brodskiy I could see my son. My son also says that he considers himself a genius. Like Brodskiy he does not want to work. People like Brodskiy and Umanskiy are having a pernicious influence on their peers. I am surprised at Brodskiy's parents. It appears that they encouraged him. They went along with him. By the form of his verse it is apparent that Brodskiy can

compose poems. But these poems have not brought anything but harm. Brodskiy is not simply a parasite. He is a militant parasite. People like Brodskiy should be given no mercy. (Applause.)

[Assessor Tyaglyy] Do you think that Brodskiy's poems influenced your son?

[Nikolayev] Yes.

[Judge] Influenced negatively?

[Nikolayev] Yes.

[Defense Attorney] How do you know that they were Brodskiy's poems?

[Nikolayev] There was a folder there, and on the folder was written "Iosif Brodskiy."

[Defense Attorney] Is your son acquainted with Umanskiy?

[Nikolayev] Yes.

[Defense Attorney] Then why do you think that it is Brodskiy, not Umanskiy, that had a pernicious influence on your son?

[Nikolayev] I think it was Brodskiy and his ilk. Brodskiy's poems are disgraceful and anti-Soviet.

[Brodskiy] Name my anti-Soviet poems. Give just one line from one.

[Judge] I will not allow a citation.

[Brodskiy] But I want to know what poems he is talking about! Maybe they are not mine.

[Nikolayev] If I had known that I would be speaking in court I would have copied them and brought them.

[Judge] Witness Romashova.

[Romashova] (teacher of Marxism-Leninism at the School imeni Mukhina): I do not know Brodskiy personally. But I know of his so-called activity. Pushkin said that talent is above all labor. What about Brodskiy? Does he work? Does he try to make his poems understandable to the people? I am surprised that my colleagues are drawing such a halo around him. It is certainly only in the Soviet Union that a court could talk so supportively with a poet, give him such comradely advice to study. As a secretary of the party organization at the School imeni Mukhina I can say that he has a bad influence on young people.

[Defense Attorney] Have you even seen Brodskiy?

[Romashova] Never. But Brodskiy's so-called activity permits me to form judgments about him.

[Judge] And can you give any facts?

[Romashova] As an indoctrinator of young people I know what the young people are saying about Brodskiy's poems.

[Defense Attorney] And are you yourself familiar with Brodskiy's poems?

[Romashova] I am. They are horrible. I do not feel I can repeat them. They are horrible.

[Judge] Witness Admoni. If you would, may I have your passport. It is an unusual last name.

[Admoni] (professor at the Institute imeni Herzen, linguist, literary scholar, and translator): When I found out that Iosif Brodskiy was being tried on a charge of parasitism I considered it my duty to express my opinion to the court. I consider that I have a right to do this because I have been working with young people for 30 years as a teacher in colleges and because I have worked on translation for a long time.

I am hardly familiar with Iosif Brodskiy. We say hello to each other, but I do not think we have even exchanged two sentences. But for roughly the last year or a little longer I have followed his translation work very carefully, from his appearances at translation evening meetings and his publications. Because his translations are talented, brilliant. And on the basis of these translations of Galczynski, Fernandez, and others I can say in all responsibility that they demanded an exceptional amount of work from their author. They testify to the translator's great skill and cultural sophistication. Miracles do not happen. Masterful skills and cultural sophistication do not come from nowhere. They require regular, persistent work. Even if a translator works with a word-for-word rendition, in order to make the translation a competent one he has to have an idea of the language from which he is translating, sense the order of this language, he must know the life and culture of the people, and so on. But in addition to this Iosif Brodskiy has studied the languages themselves. So it is clear to me that he did labor, hard and persistently. And when I found out today, just today, that he had only completed 7 years of school, it became clear to me that he must have done a truly enormous amount of work to acquire the skills and cultural sophistication that he has. What Mayakovskiy said about the work of the poet applies to the work of the poetry translator: "You process a thousand tons of literary raw material for a single word."

The Ukase under which Brodskiy is charged is directed against those who do little work, not against those who earn little money. Parasites are those who do little work. Therefore the charge of parasitism against Brodskiy is absurd. The charge of parasitism cannot be brought

against a person who works like Iosif Brodskiy, who works persistently, so much, without thinking about big earning, who is willing to limit himself to nothing but the bare essential if only he can improve his art and create real artistic works.

[Judge] What was it you said about not judging those who do not earn much money?

[Admoni] I said that the point of the Ukase is to judge those who do little work, not those who earn little money.

[Judge] What do you mean to say by that? Have you read the 4 May Ukase? Communism is built only by the labor of millions of people.

[Admoni] Any labor that is useful to society should be respected.

[Assessor Tyaglyy] Where did Brodskiy read his translations and in what foreign languages did he read?

[Admoni] (smiling): He read in Russian. He translates from the foreign language into Russian.

[Judge] If a simple man asks you a question you must explain things to him, not smile.

[Admoni] I am explaining that he translates from Polish and Serbian into Russian.

[Judge] Speak to the court, not to the public.

[Admoni] Please excuse me. That is a professor's habit, to turn to the audience to speak.

[Judge] Witness Voyevodin. Do you know Brodskiy personally?

[Voyevodin] (member of the Writers' Union): No. I have only worked in the Union for half a year. I have not been personally acquainted with him. He seldom visits the Union, only for translation evening meetings. It appears that he knew how his poems would be met and so he didn't go to other associations. I have read his epigrams. You would blush, comrade judges, if you read them. There has been talk of Brodskiy's talent here. Talent is measured only by the people's recognition. There has been no such recognition, nor can there be.

A folder of Brodskiy's poems was sent to the Writers' Union. There are three subjects in them. The first is denunciation of the world, the second is pornography, and the third is the theme of dislike of his Homeland and the people, where Brodskiy speaks of a "foreign" homeland. (Ye. Voyevodin here, just like F. Sorokin later in his indictment speech, deliberately distorts the meaning of I. Brodskiy's poem "Love your friends' homeland when passing through" [1961], in which the phrase "foreign homeland" means Moscow.) Wait a minute, I'll

recall... "the monotonous Russian crowd" (a line taken out of context from I. Brodskiy's poem "The Procession"). Let these terrible lines remain on his conscience. There is no poet Brodskiy. A translator maybe, but the poet does not exist. I completely support the opinion of the comrade who spoke about his son, on whom Brodskiy had had a pernicious influence. Brodskiy is drawing young people away from labor, from the world and life. This is the great antisocial role of Brodskiy.

[Judge] Did you discuss Brodskiy's talent at your commission.

[Voyevodin] There was one short meeting at which we talked about Brodskiy. But the discussion did not develop into a broad debate. Let me repeat, Brodskiy restricted himself to somewhat disgraceful epigrams and seldom came to the Union. My friend the poet Kuklin once made a thunderous statement from the stage about his indignation at Brodskiy's poems.

[Defense Attorney] Does the entire commission support the report that you wrote about Brodskiy?

[Voyevodin] We did not get the agreement of Etkind to the report; he holds a different view.

[Defense Attorney] And is the content of your report known to the remaining members of the commission?

[Voyevodin] No, it is not known to all members of the commission.

[Brodskiy] And how did you get my poems and my diary.

[Judge] I am going to disallow that question. Citizen Brodskiy, you worked only occasionally. Why?

[Brodskiy] I have already said. I worked all the time. Regular jobs, and then I wrote poems. (With exasperation) That is work, to write poems.

[Judge] But your earnings are very low. You say that you receive 250 rubles a year, but according to the report submitted by the militia it is 100 rubles.

[Defense Attorney] It was ordered at the last trial that the militia would check the reports on earnings, but this was not done.

[Judge] Here in the file is a contract which was sent from the publishing house. But it is just a piece of paper, not signed by anyone.

(A note is sent to the judge from the public saying that a contract is signed first by the author, and then by the managers of the publishing house.)

[Judge] Please do not send me any more notes.

[Community prosecutor Sorokin] Our great people are building communism. A remarkable quality, pleasure at socially useful labor, is developing in Soviet man. Only that society where there is no idleness flourishes. Brodskiy is far from patriotism. He has forgotten the main principle: he who does not work does not eat. For many years Brodskiy has led the life of a parasite. He quit school and went to work as a plant in 1956, when he was 15. In the same year he was discharged. (He repeats the employment history and the gaps in regular work are again declared to be idleness. It is as if all the explanations of the defense witnesses that literary labor is also work had not been given.)

We checked and found that for one job Brodskiy received only 37 rubles, and he says 150.

[Brodskiy] That is an advance! It is only an advance! A part of what I will receive later.

[Judge] Be quiet, Brodskiy.

[Sorokin] In the places where Brodskiy worked he made everyone indignant with his lack of discipline and desire to work. The article in *VECHERNIY LENINGRAD* aroused a large response. Especially large numbers of letters came from young people. They sharply condemned Brodskiy's behavior. (He reads a letter.) The young people think that there is no place for him in Leningrad. That he should be severely punished. He has absolutely no concept of conscience and duty. Every person considers it a joy to serve in the army. But he evaded it. Brodskiy's father sent his son to a clinic for a consultation and he came away with a report which was accepted by the gullible military commissariat. Even before he was summoned to the military commissariat Brodskiy wrote to his friend Shakhmatov, who has now been convicted: "I have a date with the defense committee. Your desk will be a safe shelter for my iambus."

Brodskiy belonged to a gang that greeted the word "labor" with satanic laughter and listened with respect to their fuhrer Umanskiy. Brodskiy shares his hatred of labor and Soviet literature. An assortment of pornographic words and concepts are especially popular among them. Brodskiy called Shakhmatov "sir." Nothing less. Shakhmatov was convicted. That is the kind of stinkhole Brodskiy came from. They talk about Brodskiy's giftedness. But who says it? People like Brodskiy and Shakhmatov.

(My neighbor shouts from his seat: "Who? Are Chukovskiy and Marshak like Shakhmatov?") People's guards come and take him out. This man who spoke for the honor of K.I. Chukovskiy and S.Ya. Marshak was Ye.A. Gnedin (1898-1983), a historian and sociopolitical writer who had in the past worked as an important official in the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and spent 16 years in Stalin's camps and exile.)

[Sorokin] Brodskiy is defended by crooks, parasites, lice, and beetles. Brodskiy is not a poet, but a man who is trying to write worthless poems. He has forgotten that in our country a man must labor and create material assets: machines, bread. Brodskiy must be made to work by force. He must be removed from our hero-city. He is a parasite, a creep, a crook, a morally dirty man. Those who respect Brodskiy are dripping saliva. But Nekrasov wrote:

You may not be a poet,
but you must be a citizen.

We are not trying a poet today; we are trying a parasite. Why have people here defended a man who hates our Homeland? We must check the moral character of those who defended him. He wrote in his poems, "I love a foreign homeland." In his diaries there is an entry: "I have been thinking for a long time of crossing the red line. Constructive thoughts are ripening in my red-haired head." He also wrote this: "The Stockholm city hall inspires more respect in me than the Prague Kremlin." This is how he describes Marx: "An old glutton framed by a wreath of pine cones." In one letter he writes: "I wanted to spit on Moscow."

That is what Brodskiy, and all who defend him, are worth.

(Then the prosecutor quotes the letter of a certain girl who writes disrespectfully about Lenin. It is not at all clear what this letter has to do with Brodskiy; it was not written by him nor addressed to him. At this moment the judge turns to me.)

[Judge] Stop taking notes.

[Me] Comrade judge, I request permission to take notes.

[Judge] No.

[Me] I am a journalist, a member of the Writers' Union. I am writing about the indoctrination of young people, and I request permission to take notes.

[Judge] I do not know what you are writing there. Stop.

[From the public] Take away her notes!

(Sorokin continues his speech, followed by the defense attorney. I can only give her speech in general ideas, because I was forbidden to take notes.)

Main Ideas of the Defense Attorney's Speech

The community prosecutor used materials that are not in the file, which are coming up for the first time in the case, and concerning which Brodskiy was not questioned and did not give explanations.

We have not checked the authenticity of the materials borrowed from the special case heard in 1961 and we have not had an opportunity to check the quotations used by the community prosecutor. If it is Brodskiy's diary, then it goes back to 1956. It is an adolescent's diary. The community prosecutor introduces letters to the editor by readers of the newspaper *VECHERNIY LENINGRAD* as public opinion. The authors of the letters do not know Brodskiy, have not read his poems, and are judging him by the tendentious and in many parts factually mistaken newspaper article. The community prosecutor insults not just Brodskiy when he uses the terms "creep," "parasite," and "anti-Soviet element"; he is also insulting the people who supported him, Marshak, Chukovskiy, and the respected witnesses. Therefore, without objective proof, the community prosecutor is using impermissible methods.

In general what does the prosecution have to show?

a) A report on labor activity from 1956 to 1962. Brodskiy was 16 years old in 1956. Under the law he could have stayed in school and been a dependent of his parents until the age of 18. The frequent changes of jobs show the influence of psychopathological character traits and an inability to find his place in life right away. The gaps are explained, among other things, by seasonal work in exploration parties. There is no reason to speak of his evading work before 1962.

(The defense speaks of her respect for the assessors, but regrets that there is no one among the assessors who is knowledgeable in literary matters. When a minor is charged there is always a pedagogue-assessor, and if the defendant is a doctor there must be a doctor among the assessors. So why is this just and reasonable custom forgotten when we are talking about a writer?)

b) Brodskiy has not held a regular job since 1962. But the contracts offered by the publishing house in November 1962 and October 1963, the report of the television studio, the report of the magazine *KOSTER*, and the published book of translations of Yugoslav poets testify to his creative work.

The quality of this work. There is a report signed by Ye. Voyevodin which is very negative, with impermissible accusations of anti-Soviet activity, a report that recalls the documents of the worst days of the personality cult. It came out that this report was not discussed at the commission, was not known to the members of the commission, and thus is the opinion of the prose writer Voyevodin alone. There is the response by such people as Marshak and Chukovskiy, the best connoisseurs and masters of translation. Witnesses were V. Admoni, a major literary scholar, linguist, and translator, Ye. Etkind, knowledgeable about translated literature, a member of the bureau of the translation section and a member of the Commission on Work with Young Authors, and writer and philologist N. Grudinina, who has worked a great deal with young poets. They all praise

Brodskiy's work as a translator highly and speak of the great labor he must have expended to translate what he did in 1963. Conclusion: Voyevodin's report cannot refute the opinion of these people.

c) Not one of the prosecution witnesses knows Brodskiy, received poems from Brodskiy, or heard them. The witnesses give testimony on the basis of some unchecked documents that they received in some incomprehensible way and express their opinion in the form of accusatory speeches. They are closer to prosecutors than witnesses.

The prosecution has no other material to show.

The court must exclude from consideration:

1. The materials from the special case heard in 1961 which was ordered to be dismissed in relation to Brodskiy.

If Brodskiy had committed an anti-Soviet crime then or later and had written anti-Soviet poems, this would be a subject for review by state security investigative organs.

Brodskiy in fact was acquainted with Shakhmatov and Umanskiy and was under their influence. But fortunately he has long since freed himself of this influence. But the community prosecutor read notes from those years, offering them up outside time and space, which naturally aroused public anger at Brodskiy. The community prosecutor created the impression that Brodskiy today holds his old views, which is absolutely wrong. Many young people who belonged to the Umanskiy group, thanks to the intelligent intervention of adults, were returned to normal life. The same thing happened in the last 2 years with Brodskiy. He began to work hard and productively. And then he was arrested for parasitism.

2. The issue of the quality of Brodskiy's own poems. We still do not know which of the poems included in the file belong to Brodskiy because it is apparent from his statement that there are a number of verses there that are not his.

To form an opinion on whether these are decadent, pessimistic, or lyrical poems an authoritative expert examination must be done; neither the court nor the parties can decide this question.

Our task is to establish whether Brodskiy is a parasite who lives on nonlabor income and leads a parasitic way of life.

Brodskiy is a poet and translator who is contributing to the cause of peace with his labor on translating the poets of the fraternal republics and the countries of people's democracy. He is not a drunkard, not an amoral person, not a money-grubber. He is reproached because he did not receive many royalties, so therefore he did not work. (The attorney offers a report on the specific features of

literary work and the system of pay. She speaks of the enormous expenditure of labor in translation, of the need to study foreign languages and the creative work of the poets being translated, about the fact that not all works which are submitted are accepted and paid for.)

The system of advance payments. The figures in the file are inaccurate. According to Brodskiy's statement they are in fact larger. That should have been checked. The amounts are insignificant. What did Brodskiy live on? Brodskiy lived with his parents, who supported him materially during his formative stage as a poet. He did not have any nonlabor sources of income. He lived in a miserly way in order to be able to work, to pursue his beloved occupation.

Conclusions:

Brodskiy's guilt is not established. Brodskiy is not a parasite and administrative measures cannot be applied to him.

The 4 May 1961 Ukase is very important. It is a weapon to clean the city of real parasites. Unfounded application discredits the idea of the Ukase.

The 10 March 1963 Order of the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court compels the court to take a critical attitude toward materials submitted, not to allow conviction of people who in fact are working, and to observe the rights of those charged, among other things the right to look at the file and offer proof of their innocence.

Brodskiy was detained on 13 February 1964 without grounds and deprived of the opportunity to submit proof of his innocence.

But even the evidence that has been submitted to the court is sufficient for the conclusion that Brodskiy is not a parasite.

(The court withdraws to confer. A recess is declared.)

Talk in the Hall

"Writers! We should run them all out!"

"Intellectuals! They're stones around our necks!"

"What about the intelligentsia? Don't they work? They work too."

"What is it with you? Didn't you see how they work? They use other people's work."

"Do you know what a word-for-word rendition is? Do you know how a poet works with one?"

"Think of it. What a deal!"

"I know Brodskiy! He is a good fellow and a good poet."

"He is an anti-Soviet. Did you hear what the prosecutor said?"

"And did you hear what the defense attorney said?"

"The defense attorney was speaking for pay, but the prosecutor isn't paid. That means that he is right."

"Of course, defense attorneys only want to make more money. They don't care what they say as long as they pocket some money."

"You are talking nonsense."

"Are you getting abusive? I'll call the people's guard! Did you hear the quotes they gave?"

"He wrote that a long time ago."

"So what if it was long ago."

"Well I am a teacher. If I didn't believe in education, what kind of a teacher would I be?"

"We don't need teachers like you."

"We send them our children, and what do they teach them?"

"But they didn't even let Brodskiy vindicate himself."

"Enough! We're sick of your Brodskiy!"

"And you there, the one who was taking notes! Why were you writing that down?"

"I am a journalist. I write about education, and I want to write about this too."

"What can you write about this? Everything is clear. You are all the same. We should take away your notes!"

"Just try it!"

"And what will happen?"

"You just try to take them away, and you'll see."

"Oh-oh, you're making threats! Hey, guard! They're making threats over here!"

"He is a people's guard, not a policeman who grabs after every word."

"Hey, guard! They are calling you a policeman over here! They should run you all out of Leningrad, and you'd really suffer then, parasites!"

"Comrades, what are you saying. They are going to acquit him! After all, you heard what the defense attorney said."

(The court returns and the judge reads the verdict.)

[Judge] Brodskiy has systematically failed to perform the duties of a Soviet citizen to produce material assets and provide for himself personally, which is apparent from his frequent job changes. He was warned by MGB gans in 1961 and by the militia in 1963. He promised to take a permanent job, but did not draw conclusions, continued not working, and wrote his decadent poems and read them at evening meetings. From the report of the Commission on Work with Young Writers it is apparent that Brodskiy is not a poet. He was condemned by the readers of VECHERNIY LENINGRAD. Therefore the court applies the 4 May 1961 Ukase: exile Brodskiy to remote locations for a period of 5 years of compulsory labor.

People's guards (walking past the defense attorney): Well? Did you lose the case, comrade lawyer?

**Reprint of the VECHERNIY LENINGRAD Article
"The Trial of the Parasite Brodskiy"**

The spacious hall of the club of Repair-Construction Administration No 15 was filled with working people from Dzerzhinskiy Rayon. This is where the trial of the parasite I. Brodskiy was held. He was described in the article "A Subliterary Drone," printed in No 281 of our newspaper for 1963.

The traveling session of the rayon people's court was opened by the presiding judge Ye.A. Savelyeva. The people's assessors were worker T.A. Tyaglyy and pensioner M.I. Lebedeva.

The report of the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon militia department is read. Brodskiy is 24 years old, completed 7 years of school, and has no permanent job, imagining himself to be a literary genius. The unattractive face of this parasite reveals itself especially vividly during the questioning.

"Your total time of employment?" The judge asks.

"I don't exactly remember." Brodskiy answers to laughter in the hall.

And what is there to remember if Brodskiy has changed jobs 13 times since 1956, staying 1-3 months in each place? And in recent years he has not worked anywhere at all.

Embellishing. Brodskiy announces his supposed genius, uses resounding phrases, and shamelessly says that only future generations can understand his poems. This statement arouses general laughter in the hall.

Despite Brodskiy's antisocial behavior which is absolutely clear to everyone, strange as it may seem, he found defenders. The poetess N. Grudinina, senior scientific associate of the Leningrad Department of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics V. Admoni, and Docent Ye. Etkind of the Pedagogical Institute imeni A.I. Herzen appeared at the trial as defense witnesses and tried to prove, foaming at the mouth, that Brodskiy, who has published only a few little poems, is no parasite at all. The defense attorney Z. Toporova alleged the same thing.

But the prosecution witnesses completely exposed Brodskiy's parasitism and the pernicious influence of his scribbles on young people. This was spoken of with indignation by writer Ye. Voyevodin, department head R. Romashova of the Higher Industrial Arts School imeni V.I. Mukhina, pensioner A. Nikolayev, pipefitter P. Denisov of UNR-20, head of the Defense House I. Smirnov, and P. Logunov, deputy director of the Hermitage. They also noted that a large share of blame falls to Brodskiy's parents, who coddled their son and encouraged his idleness. His father A. Brodskiy in reality was supporting an overgrown loafer.

Community prosecutor F. Sorokin, a representative of the people's guard of Dzerzhinskiy Rayon, gave a vivid speech at the trial.

After listening carefully to the parties and painstakingly studying the documents in the file the people's courts delivered its verdict: in conformity with the 4 May 1961 Ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet I. Brodskiy is exiled from Leningrad to remote places with compulsory labor for 5 years.

This order was greeted with great approval by those in attendance.

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Crime Statistics Published for 1986-87

18000370 Moscow SLOVO LEKTORA in Russian
No 12, Dec 88 p 34

[Unsigned article: "For the Lecturer's Notebook"]

[Text] In our country today there are 40,000 public order maintenance station councils, 149,000 labor collective preventive councils, and 289,000 voluntary people's guards groups.

By annual measurements the level of total crime per 100,000 population in our country is 5-8 times lower than in Germany, United States, England, and France.

In 1986 and 1987 the total number of crimes recorded in our country declined. This has not been observed since 1967, and it is important that the number of such crimes as homicide and hooliganism decreased quite noticeably.

In the first half of 1988 the total number of crimes in comparison with the corresponding period of the previous year declined by 8 percent, and the decline in the number of serious crimes continued. At the same time there was an 8 percent increase in that dangerous part of criminal activity which is fought by criminal searches. The number of thefts of state and public property rose from 59,600 to 68,400, while thefts of private personal property rose from 165,900 to 211,400 or 21 percent. The proportion of property crimes in the overall structure of crime increased.

In the sectors of agricultural industry, the oil, forest, and wood processing industries, transportation, and trade crime is 1.5-2 times above the average level for the economy. An atmosphere of intolerance for legal offenders has not yet been created there.

Statistics show significant fluctuations in the level of crime in different regions. Thus, there are more than 1,000 crimes per 100,000 population in the Far East, while in the Transcaucasus the figure is 250. One third of all recorded crimes occur in republic, kray, and oblast centers, while an equal proportion occur in the rural areas.

In the economic sphere the scale of losses from shortages, spoilage, and theft in 1986 was 3 billion rubles, and in 1987 it was 4 billion rubles. The number of identified criminal offenses in the economic sphere has increased by 39 percent in the last 10 years. Each year 25,000-27,000 speculators are brought to criminal accountability.

In 1986-1987 a total of 1.66 million thieves were detained. Taking home products became widespread at meat combines in Samarkand, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Vilnius, and Gorki. Of 600 people employed at the meat combine in Vladimir, in 1986 500 people carrying off goods were detained, and one out of six was a repeater.

Millions of people who are in no hurry to legalize their labor continue to work in the shadow economy, in the service sphere. Last year more than 38,000 persons were brought to administrative accountability for violations of the rules of individual labor activity, while 18,000 were charged with engaging in prohibited occupations and 10,000 were charged with evasion of income declarations. In addition, 796 persons were brought to criminal accountability.

The growth in crime by women is an alarming fact. Ten years ago women accounted for 12 percent of all crime, and today it is 22 percent. In official and economic crime the share of women is now one-half, while in cases in home-brewing it is 60 percent.

The problems of drug addiction are not becoming less critical. In 1987 internal affairs organs destroyed 130 hectares of opium poppies and more than 140,000 hectares of wild marijuana; in addition they captured 42 tons of narcotics and raw materials and took them out of illegal circulation.

In the first half of the current year 80,000 crimes were committed by minors. And overall over half of persons guilty of crimes are under the age of 30.

Last year minors alone committed 165,000 crimes; one-third of them were students at vocational-technical schools and 28 percent went to regular schools.

We should note that one out of five crimes, according to statistics, is committed by a person with a criminal record. And one out of three recidivists commits a new crime in the first year after serving his most recent sentence.

Criminal Justice System Blamed for Recidivism

18000290 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
12 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by O. Kuts, under the rubric "By Conscience and By Law": "Between Prison and Society: The Fate of Those Who Have Left Places of Imprisonment"]

[Text] No one is so bold as to assert that corrective labor institutions always justify their name, exclusively setting free only re-educated and honest people, ready to go into a daily working life and "break" with their shady past forever. For some hardened law-breakers, the colony is just a regular school for raising their criminal skills. Nonetheless, many recidivists leave their place of imprisonment with the sincere intention of starting a new life.

Let us not deny citizen Dolbeshkina a similar good impulse either, the more so since she spent only 1 year at the corrective labor colony in Chernigov Oblast. Willful intoxication occurred suddenly, no sooner than this woman ran face to face into stern reality: no housing, no residence permit, and one cannot be hired for work without a passport and labor record—consequently,

there were absolutely no means of existence. No one has to be clairvoyant to guess how Dolbeshkina's life took shape further. She soon found shelter again at the same colony from which she had been released. However, she was guaranteed to no longer have to think about her daily bread for at least 6 years.

The strangest thing about this story, as T.A. Shulezhko, major of internal affairs and deputy chief of the above-mentioned Chernigov Oblispolkom Administration of Internal Affairs corrective labor institution, thinks, is that the prisoner only rejoiced at returning there, where she was given food, shelter and work!

Many similar tragic cases were raised in speeches by the participants in the republic practical seminar, organized by the UkSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, devoted to problems with the labor and everyday system for citizens released from institutions of imprisonment, as well as from receiving and distributing centers.

"The whole problem lies in the fact that we just record these cases, often not holding those guilty of an indifferent attitude toward people responsible," said I.D. Gladush, UkSSR Minister of Internal Affairs, colonel-general of internal services. "Restructuring work with former convicts is being done poorly for the time being. Prisoners are released with no idea of where they will live or work. Statistics show what this will lead to: one-third of all crimes in the republic are committed by former convicts.

Many reasons for the situation which has taken shape could be cited. The very first is that we have become indifferent: indifferent to those who have happened on misfortune. There is no efficient coordination of activities on the part of internal affairs agencies, job placement agencies and supervisory commissions. The job placement bureau does not always inform the militia of the existence of empty work places and vacant posts in enterprises. Instead of organizing work to find jobs for those released, the ispolkoms of local soviets and their supervisory commissions often avoid solving these problems. This position is explained by the fact that the corrective labor legislation of 1969 currently in effect is of a declarative nature and obligates no one to anything. Neither the requirements made of state institutions, nor responsibility for violating these requirements, have been determined by legislation.

All socialist states, except our own, have laws on mandatory job placement for people released from places of imprisonment. For example, the GDR includes this problem in city planning. Social rehabilitation centers, social curators, and trusteeship agencies exist in Poland and Czechoslovakia. The experience of Hungary, which has the lowest percentage of crime recidivism in the world, is interesting.

Of course, against this background, underestimating the importance of preventive work among former convicts in our country and eliminating the preventive services in the MVD agencies which did this work, albeit poorly, seems strange.

Even the young Soviet state realized the need for a special agency which would see to the released and be a connecting link between the prisoner and society. In 1918, a department was created in the punitive department of the commissariat of justice, whose task was to organize the supervision of and care for people who had served their sentences, to issue them aid, help them find jobs, and create patronage for the released in the local soviets. In 1922, committees for aiding the released, for "rendering them moral and material support" were founded by special decree of the soviet state under the province and uyezd justice bureaus. The first corrective labor code of 1924 included an entire section which regulated the activity of state agencies for assisting people released from places of imprisonment. It stipulated a number of measures, such as granting loans for acquiring work implements and items needed for daily life, finding suitable employment, and providing legal and medical aid. These measures were financed by a special fund for assisting the released.

As we see, the young soviet state was far from indifferent to what a former prisoner, going out into freedom, will do. Society realized that, even under socialism, it is impossible to eradicate or somewhat reduce crime, without working with a category of people like former convicts. On 20 March 1930, a VTsIK Soviet of People's Commissariats resolution deemed it necessary for purposes of the struggle against repeated crimes to increase assistance to released people based on involving Soviet society in active participation in this work. Unfortunately, this was the last document of its kind, and was not applied in practice, since it was obviously not part of the state course in the struggle with criminality in that period.

These historic facts graphically show how much of the experience which once existed has been lost. Compared to the experience, gained up to now by countries in the socialist community, it becomes understandable that the omission can only be repaired together, not making the militia solely responsible for solving the problem. We must also take into account the fact that, for former convicts, the militia is an exclusively punitive agency, towards which they maintain a hostile attitude even after release.

The first attempt has been made to overcome the disunity of services, engaged in the problems of job placement and social adaptation for people who have served their sentences.

Meanwhile, the results of this work are quite modest. With the conversion of most enterprises to cost-accounting and self-support, the job placement problem

for a category of citizens like former convicts has become even more aggravated. Last year alone, militia agencies recorded 584 cases of unsubstantiated refusals to hire people who had been released. Currently, more than 400,000 former convicts in the republic have not found work. At the same time, Ukrainian enterprises are short-handed by 700,000 people!

No, enterprise leaders really have no objections to using the inexpensive work force that arrives regularly, for example, from treatment and labor institutions or colonies. And why not—neither housing nor kindergartens are needed, sick leave and so forth does not have to be paid for and, above all, such workers are paid less by factor of 2. What, however, happens when this person is released? He becomes undesirable for the enterprise and he cannot find a permanent job there. The more so, since tomorrow the director will receive a new, inexpensive work group under escort. "They just use us to fulfill the plan and get bonuses, nobody calls us anything but 'alkies,'" LTP patients say.

This corrupt, gulag-like attitude toward prisoners must be decisively eliminated. We must not forget the truth: in the final account, we must struggle not against the criminal, but against crime. As applied to the subject under discussion, we must struggle against the recidivism of former convicts. In order to do this, they must be placed under conditions which would not urge them on to commit new crimes, but conversely, would contribute to the fastest social adaptation.

However, who will receive such a person with outstretched arms? What kind of chief would decide to hire such a person? Leaving his place of imprisonment, he is as poor as a church mouse, often without a dime in his pocket. Having worked at a brick or some other plant, he has not even earned enough to buy himself a ride home. It is good, if he has not yet lost his family ties. In this case, Mama comes to get her 20-year old, buys him a ticket and takes him home—instead of the lad buying presents for his parents himself, with honestly earned money. Yet, what do you do if you have no family, if no one is waiting for you?

Searches for answers were not delayed for long. Suggestions were already being made on the first day of the seminar. For example: starting with the first month of imprisonment, a small share of the earnings, perhaps 5-7 percent, could be set aside for a release fund.

Of course, preparation for a normal life, not surrounded with barbed wire, requires more than this. It would be good to really create special adaptation centers in places of imprisonment, and include psychological specialists on their staffs. Incidentally, the employees at the above-mentioned Chernigov Oblast Colony intended to create such a center there, by way of an experiment. They received the ministry's "OK," passing the bureaucratic correspondence, right here at the seminar.

The passport department officials are among the first to encounter the people released into freedom. The work of this militia service was also seriously criticized. Here, they like to send people from one office to another, as a result of which it takes 3 months to collect the documents needed in order to get a passport.

Last year alone, 1,700 normative acts were abolished in the agencies. It seems like this is a great deal. Probably, however, not all of the obsolete instructions have been eliminated yet, since this situation of affairs continues to remain. After all, not every place is like the Kiev Plant imeni Vatutin, where the personnel department workers view job placement for released prisoners as their direct duty.

Naturally, a person cannot hang, so to speak, between prison and society for long. Having encountered callousness and indifference in society, having lost his faith in justice, he unerringly jumps right back into the abyss of crime.

This is why we should not evaluate work with this category of people according to the number of people released on time or placed under militia supervision. Here, how many unbalanced minds we truly succeed in rescuing, how many people were able to stay on the true path and rejoin society as full members, can be the only evaluation criteria, the only final result.

'Mafia' Said To Seek Release of Convicted Swindler

18000362 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 6

[Article by V. Khalin: "The Hypocrites"]

[Text] It is a demagogic trick that has been known for ages: if the facts are irrefutable, then start attacking the people who made these facts known. In the age of glasnost it has become "fashionable" among hypocritical demagogues to stir up old criminal cases and under the guise of investigative "errors" to try to pass off black as white.

Our readers will probably recall O. Kurganov's article "Drawing Fire on One's Self" (OGONEK, No 40, 1988). The subject is the late Khint. When he was caught in theft, bribery, and smuggling and was under investigation, I met with him and attended his trial. I have in my hands the verdict in his case, 362 pages of text.

There was no doubt in my mind then when PRAVDA published my material, nor is there now, that he was a genuine millionaire of the late 1970's. In Tallinn Khint at that time headed the Dezintegrator SKTB [Special Industrial-Design Bureau]. Among his deputies were Liyk, a relative, Tyakhiste, who had been convicted earlier for mercenary crimes, and Treyberg, also a convicted bribe-taker who headed the legal department.

The Khint group used "progressive" methods of theft. The SKTB operated on cooperative principles within the system of Estkholkhozstroy, and the wheeler-dealers made the decisions that suited them, but "on behalf of the collective" and "democratic" in form. They thoroughly confused their reports, sold products "on the left," and engaged in smuggling.

Needless to say, honest, conscientious people were found in the collective who did not want to be led along by the swindlers. In 1978 Kh. Olesk, at that time the head accountant at Dezintegrator, raised the alarm. In vain. Heavy pressure was put on her and her husband. He did not hold up, but resigned, stating: "I will not go along with dirty dealers." His wife soon followed him.

Plutocrats have always been impatient with "clean-hands types." Official duty? Honor? Conscience? Wheeler-dealers get no benefit, no income from them. Now O. Kurganov is passing these people off as fighters for technical progress who were tripped up just as they were spreading their wings.

Yes, USSR Gosplan did listen to reports about Dezintegrator's know-how. Kurganov interprets this as recognition of Khint's contributions in the development of disintegrator technology. But no one ever disputed them! Khint was a doctor of technical sciences and winner of the Lenin Prize. The products of the special design bureau were in great demand. But does this mean that he could pump money into his own pocket? By Kurganov's logic, it does. Kurganov calls him an extraordinary individual who did not fit the rules of the time of stagnation.

But how well he fit, and how well he flourished. Through the "right" people O. Kurganov brought Khint together with N. Baybakov, who was then chairman of USSR Gosplan. Being so affectionally treated by the official, as a sign of gratitude Khint sent N. Baybakov a DU-16Ye miniature disintegrator worth 7,000 rubles. Naturally neither the giver nor the recipient paid a penny out of his own pocket. The decision was made "on behalf of the collective," and that was that.

The investigation of Khint's "company" was taken up by two investigators for especially important cases, T. Gdlyan from the USSR Procuracy (the same man who is now "unraveling" the mafia in Uzbekistan), and E. Vallimayae, from the republic procuracy. They were assisted by experts and police scientists. Khint and nine of his henchmen were brought to trial. During the investigation questionable facts surfaced about the biography of the "boss" of the company during the period when Tallinn was occupied by the fascists (in Kurganov's version it was underground work). In any case, Khint publicly condemned his own "Treatise," which was found at his place during the search, and in which regret was expressed that Hitler did not win the war.

On 22 December 1983 the ESSR Supreme Court sentenced all 10 underground businessmen to long prison terms and confiscation of their property. A total of 870,000 rubles was subject to collection from them. There were two articles in PRAVDA on the materials of the trial, on 24 April and 30 June 1984. I do not think there is any need to retell the details of the criminal case.

But now, 5 years later, O. Kurganov is fighting to have it reviewed and depicts Khint as a virtual victim of arbitrariness. It is alleged in the pages of OGONEK, and not without emotion, that certain influential people in Tallinn in the early 1980's needed to defame Khint's status as a patriot, inventor, and scientist. O. Kurganov is desperate to find out who "had his hand on the lever, on the control, on the button" at that time. But the answer is very simple, like the hand in front of your face: Khint dug his own hole, and fell into it all by himself despite the support of highly placed patrons. The boil burst because it had ripened. Just as happened in Rostov-na-Donu, in Moscow, and in Uzbekistan.

The main source of illegal income for Khint and Company was not disintegrators, but "subsidiary production" of AU-8, a tonic, as O. Kurganov timidly calls it today. But at that time AU was advertised as a cure for all diseases, including cancer. With the help of the "right" people the wheeler-dealers got the price for the potion (up to 20 rubles per half-liter) "ratified" by the Republic Council of Ministers, which now enables Kurganov to call it a "state" price, especially since it did not hurt the "right" people. They were supplied free of charge from a special "experimental" tank in which, unlike the usual one, they fermented not just pig's stomachs and feet, carrots, and nettles, but also sweet-smelling ingredients—honey, bananas, and citrus fruits. This was to overcome the unpleasant odor. Kurganov says, without false modesty, that he was honored to drink from the prestigious source. Indeed, there is no law against the good life.

What is not good is something else. The wheeler-dealers were not above swindling desperate, trusting sick people. Is it not immoral, and illegal, to give them concoctions that are untested by medical practice, to advertise these concoctions, and to create a sensation? Khint and Company did this without a second thought, filled their own pockets from sales of products that were not included in the books; and they did not forget to pay off their patrons and chroniclers.

But why does O. Kurganov go so far as to praise Khint as a great martyr, a fighter against arbitrary power, and so on? Under whose patronage is he working this time? On whose instigation? The answer to these questions is beyond the competence of the mass information organs. But now some of them are undertaking to proclaim doubtful "truths."

Back in May 1988 the Estonian republic newspaper RAKHVA KHYAEL (Voice of the People) published a long treatise by S. Kallas in 10 issues of the paper. It was entitled "Destruction of Material", and attempted to rehabilitate Khint in the eyes of the community. It is true that the author, bracing himself, admits that Khint gave bribes; but, he says, everyone gave them and took them at that time—Brovin, an employee in Brezhnev's Secretariat, his son-in-law Churbanov and others. Against that background, according to Kallas, the Estonian bribe-givers were in a way "non-mercenary" criminals. In the June and July issues of the journal VIKERKAAR (Rainbow), which comes out in Estonian and Russian, lawyer Yu. Ryatsep, who was Khint's defense attorney in the 1983 trial, took up the baton. His article, entitled "It Is Time to Clarify the Truth," is aimed directly against the publications in PRAVDA; it even rephrases one of the headlines ("Time to Clarify the Truth", in PRAVDA for 30 June 1984).

O. Kurganov is not so categorical in his polemic with PRAVDA; he does not name the paper or identify the investigators. This caution is superfluous. On the other hand Kurganov elegantly describes how the "inhuman" investigator promised to release Khint to go to his wife's funeral, if Khint would admit his guilt before a video camera. The disturbed and suffering man agreed, but he was deceived.

Only one thing here fits the truth. The final interrogation, in which Khint fully admitted the crimes with which he was charged, was in fact recorded on a video cassette. This was 10 months after Khint's wife's funeral and was done on his own personal initiative. It appears that he wanted to get a more lenient sentence by a sincere repentance. After all, the scale of his underground business was so great that he was threatened by the supreme penalty.

For accuracy I read the thick volumes of the criminal file over and over. Having avoided this "burden," writer Kurganov now and then puts his foot in his mouth with his interpretation of the facts. Thus, as he pictures it, the search was a surprise to Khint. But at that time the investigation had been under way for almost half a year and several of his accomplices had been arrested. The investigator did not catch the master at home during the search, so that he could not have "intimidated" him. The tearful episode with Khint's time in the hospital is also "touched up." He had "bought" the personnel off long before this, putting 11 medical assistants on as laboratory assistants at the SKTB (even Kurganov "simple-mindedly" admits this). They were only on the rolls there, receiving 125 rubles a month apiece.

After the search Khint understood that the investigation did have evidence, although he managed to cover up some of his tracks. All that he could do was to hide out in "his" hospital, in the critical care department. His

accomplices visited him, as Kurganov correctly describes, but it would have been unethical for investigators to trouble the sick man.

Leaving the hospital in secret to go to his Moscow parents, Khint in fact began to flee, intending to get off at Tapa station on the return trip, switch to a car, and go into hiding. But he did not succeed.

Is there any need to say that they arrested the fugitive in a proper manner, in front of the passengers, that no one pushed Khint into the car, that they did not tear up the floors and break tiles during the search, or that soldiers were not present during the search. The mythical "important person" who supposedly left Khint languishing in jail for Saturday and Sunday is also a figment of Kurganov's imagination (or perhaps a technique?). Khint was arrested on Friday, the sanction for the arrest was given on the same day, and the charges were brought on Saturday. All this is within the framework of the law and is the usual way to treat ordinary accused persons. What kind of scandal is this? Khint was not a stupid man and knew what he was doing, but greed obscured his vision.

Just as it did, incidentally, with Kurganov too. Oh, what efforts he made for his benefactor's sake! From the report of the USSR Procurator for the Party Control Commission of the CPSU Central Committee: "On the initiative of Kurganov the film 'The Miracle Mill,' which praises Khint, was shown on USSR Central Television during the investigation, when charges had been brought against Khint for state crimes. The film was shown in place of another that had been indicated in the program."

There is no need to compare the facts with the fabrications of Khint's apologists. Any unprejudiced person will understand that their creations are built on sand. The purpose is to cast a shadow over a clear picture, to inflame passions among uninformed people, and to represent a criminal as a national hero who fell in the battle against the Moscow bureaucracy (according to the version of the Estonian authors) or against "influential people in Tallinn" according to Kurganov).

To do this they turn the facts upside down. But what do these hypocrites care about the truth? Their concern is something else, to upset and cast doubt on the conclusions of the investigation and court and to deliver a blow against honest employees of law-enforcement organs. There have been cases where they succeeded, in particular with E. Vallimayae. We will talk about him a little later. But now I want to ask: Is this within their competence and what kind of levers and buttons are they using?

Kurganov makes his insinuations from personal interest. The rehabilitation of Khint also means his own rehabilitation. According to predictions by lawyers he was facing at least 10 years in prison under Article 93-1 of the ESSR Criminal Code. Here is the decree dismissing the

criminal case: "The Moscow writer, journalist, and playwright Oskar Iyeremeyevich Esterkin-Kurganov in conspiracy with I. A. Khint, director of the Dezintegrator SKTB, committed grand theft."

The revelations go further: He was fictitiously listed as a chief designer of the project, for which he received 250 rubles a month. Dezintegrator awarded him a literary prize of 1,500 rubles for his books about Khint. A Volga car was rented for Kurganov through Inturist in the period between April 1980 and May 1981. Together with Khint and two of his deputies, Kurganov enjoyed an open account at the Pyatyy Okean Restaurant at Shere-metyevo No 2 airport. His family trip to Tallinn was paid for at state expense.

Giving his due to Kurganov, Kallas writes: "For a long time he defended Khint's place in the sun. This temporarily cost him his party card, but he got it back very quickly." Do you notice how casually the party card is treated; it is taken away and returned with unusual ease. Kallas is silent about what Kurganov cost Dezintegrator. We will say: the creative torments of the author from Moscow cost the state treasury 30,819 rubles and 34 kopecks. When the bill was presented at the Procuracy, Kurganov repaid it with the cash he had on hand—5,000 rubles.

"He was repentant and swore that it would not happen anymore." T. Gdlyan told during our meeting. "But now, it appears, he has decided to 'surface.' So I am not surprised at his article in OGONEK. I have always thought and still do think that crime should not go unpunished; otherwise it multiplies like cancer."

Yes, and Kurganov still has a debt of 25,819 rubles 34 kopecks. It still remains to be learned what "phone connections" he used, but the criminal case against Kurganov was unexpectedly dismissed by order of deputy USSR Procurator General O. Soroki. On grounds that do not provide rehabilitation as lawyers say. E. Vallimayae was ordered to sign the decree. It turns out that Kurganov by his article paid Vallimayae in black ingratitude.

E. Vallimayae, former senior investigator for specially important cases, now works in the Murmansk Oblast Procuracy. He has been ostracized by the Estonian press. Whose hand was at work there? Who arranged rallies demanding "death to Vallimayae"? They do not let the outcast lawyer speak. In July 1987 he offered his article on the true personality of Khint to the editors of RAKHVA KHYAEL, and his letter to the republic "youth" newspaper has been lying untouched since 1 September 1988. Does this mean that glasnost is a one-way street?

It is alarming that within the wave of changes bubbles are rising to the surface containing Mafiosi who had settled "to the bottom." Restructuring? The hypocrites immediately tear open their shirts and say, here are our

scars from the times of stagnation. And they again reach for the levers, buttons, and controls which promise easy money and undeserved social benefits. These hypocrites are kindling unhealthy passions and provoking disorder. It is easier to sit things out in muddy water, and catch golden fish as before.

In their haste they are hitching the cart in front of the horses without a shadow of embarrassment. False hints, shifty talk, shuffling facts—blaming everything on others, one way or another, but still they hold their gun to the head of the truth and shout: "Get out of the way! We have always been ahead of progress."

Yes, the mafia really is a threat. The hypocrites are not bragging without reason. The only thing is that by "progress" all they mean is the possibility to grab, take, and rake things in for themselves.

Will we really permit them to return to the levers, controls, and buttons?

Shortage of Layman's Legal Texts Criticized

IS000473 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 5 Jan 89 p 1

Article by K. Zakiryanov, chairman of the KaZZR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade: "At Present, Zero"]

[Text] "At Present, Zero"—this was the title of the note by N. Lantrat published in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA. The response to it was written by K. Zakiryanov, chairman of KaSSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade].

The author raises the question of the shortage of popular literature for the mass reader on legal indoctrination and the problems of housing, labor, and family law. While his remarks on the need to publish large-edition booklets is correct, one can hardly agree with the statement that legal literature in the books of the four publishing houses (Kazakhstan, Kaynar, Mektep, and Nauka) which engage in the publication of legal literature "is at point zero."

The Kazakh SSR Goskomizdat carries on planned work on the publication of reference and popular-science legal literature. This publication activity is carried on in close cooperation with the Ministry of Justice and other interested organizations.

A "Summary Plan" has been prepared for publication of textbooks, aids, and other reference literature in legal disciplines until the year 1990. It envisions 111 titles with a total volume of 1,460 printer's sheets and a total printing of 2.5 million copies. More than 50 titles with 920 printer's sheets and a printing of more than 1 million copies have been published.

The Kazakhstan Publishing House has published 13 volumes of "Svod zakonov Kazakhskoy SSR" [Compilation of Laws of the Kazakh SSR] with a volume of 682.5 printer's sheets and 90,600 copies. Updating of the code began in 1986. The first supplement to the first and second volumes has appeared. For the first supplement 130 printer's sheets have been turned over for printing, while for the second—86 sheets.

In 1986-1988 the following were published in Kazakh and Russian: "Kodeks zakonov o trude Kazakhskoy SSR" [Kazakh SSR Code of Labor Law], "Ugolovnyy kodeks Kazakhskoy SSR" [Kazakh SSR Criminal Code], "Zhilishchnyy kodeks Kazakhskoy SSR" [Kazakh SSR Housing Code], "Kodeks Kazakhskoy SSR ob administrativno-pravovykh narusheniyyakh" [Kazakh SSR Code of Administrative Law Offenses], "Kommentariy k Zhilishchnomu kodeksu Kazakhskoy SSR" [Commentary to the Kazakh SSR Housing Code], and the textbook "Ugolovnoye delo Kazakhskoy SSR" [The Criminal Case in the Kazakh SSR], "Russko-kazakhskiy slovar yuridicheskikh terminov" [Russian-Kazakh Dictionary of Legal Terms], and others. Commentaries to the Civil Code and the Code on Marriage and the Family are being prepared for 1989-1990.

The Kazakhstan Publishing House has developed special series for disseminating legal knowledge among mass readers. Two of them, "The USSR Citizen—Rights, Obligations, and Duty" and "Legal Knowledge for the Masses," have been in existence more than 5 years already. Thus, in 1986-1988 four large-edition booklets have been published in the "USSR Citizen" series: "Berech i okhranyat sokrovishcha dukhovnoy kultury" [Preserve and Protect the Treasures of Spiritual Culture] by N. B. Mukhitdinov, "Obshchestvo, roditeli, deti" [Society, Parents, and Children] by S. A. Tabanov, "Pravo na vybor professii" [The Right to Choose an Occupation] by V. Mamontov and A. Lisitsyn, and "Glavnoye bogatstvo" [The Primary Wealth] by A. Sagindykova. In the series "Legal Knowledge for the Masses" publications include booklets by well-known lawyers in the republic such as V. Menshikov ("Kak velit zakon" [As the Law Commands]), A. Bepalova ("Pravovaya okhrana detstva" [Legal Protection of Childhood]), G. Tlenchiyeva ("Kachestvo produktsii i zakon" [Product Quality and the Law]), G. Syzdykov ("Tsena Sudebnoy Oshibki" [The Price of Judicial Error]), N. Abuzyarova ("Pravovaya inspektsiya truda na proizvodstve" [Legal Inspection of Labor in Production]), and K. Namengenov ("Pravo na izobretatelstva" [The Right to Invention Activity]). A. Taranov's "Vysshaya shkola—pravovyye aspekty" [Higher Education—Legal Aspects] is now being printed.

In addition to the series publications in 1986-1987 the mass reader, parents, the community and interested organizations were offered such books as "Pyanstvo—sotsialnoye zlo" [Drunkenness—A Social Evil] by Kh. Zhabbayev, "Rol mestnykh Sovetov v obespechenii zakonnosti" [The Role of the Local Soviets in Ensuring Legality] by V. Nechitaylo, the collection "200 voprosov

i otvetov po okhrane prirody" [200 Questions and Answers on Environmental Protection] by S. Baysalov and L. Ilyashchenko, "Pravovoye polozheniye mezhkhozaystvennykh predpriyatiy (spetsobyedineniy)" [The Legal Status of Interfarm Enterprises (Special Associations)], and others.

In 1988 alone 15 books, booklets and collections were published on legal questions with a total volume of 127 printer's sheets and in 285,000 copies. Among them were "Grazhdansko-protsessualnyy kodeks Kazakhskoy SSR" [Kazakh SSR Code of Civil Procedure], "Ugolovno-protsessualnyy kodeks Kazakhskoy SSR" [Kazakh SSR Code of Criminal Procedure], and translations into Kazakh of the books "Istoki grazhdanstvennosti" [The Sources of Citizenship] by L. Kuznetsov, "Kak vospitat grazhdanskuyu aktivnost'" [How to Educate Civic Activity] by V. Obukhov, and the collection "Lichnoye podsobnoye khozyaystvo v voprosakh i otvetakh (pravovoy aspekt)" [The Private Subsidiary Farming Operation in Questions and Answers (The Legal Aspect)]. The Kazakh SSR codes "On Marriage and the Family" and the "Civil Code," plus O. Kopabayev's book on legal aspects of work with young people (in Kazakh) "V zone pristalnogo vnimaniya" [An Area of Fixed Attention] are being prepared for printing.

During development of the topic plan of the Kazakhstan Publishing House for 1898 the series "Legal Knowledge for the Masses" was broadened in subject areas and renamed "Democracy, Glasnost, and Justice." In 1988-1990 it will include the collections "Antipody" [People of Opposite Views], "Ya i obshchestvo" [I and Society], "Chuma xx veka" [The Plague of the 20th Century], Sh. Kusainov's book "Po goryachim sledam" [Hot on the Trail], K. Begaliyev's "Podrostok i zakon" [The Adolescent and the Law], and "Kriminalistika v borbe s khishcheniyami" [Police Science in the Fight against Theft].

The plan for production of legal literature includes 37 titles with a volume of 683 printer's sheets and a total printing of 1.5 million copies, which will be further specified and refined with due regard for the wishes of the broad reading community and interested organizations.

After discussion of the comment in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA the main editorial board of the Kazakhstan Publishing House together with the republic Ministry of Justice additionally laid out for publication in 1991-1992 the books "Ekonomicheskiye prestupleniya: prichiny i preduprezhdeniya" [Economic Crimes: Causes and Prevention] by I. Rogov, "Trudovoye pravo: voprosy i otvety" [Labor Law: Questions and Answers] by G. Zhanabilov, "Sto voprosov i otvetov o rabote mestnykh Sovetov (pravovyye aspekty)" [100 Questions and Answers about the Work of the Local Soviets (Legal Aspects)], and "Upravlyayet kolektiv (opyt peredovykh predpriyatiy Kazakhstana po realizatsii Zakona o gospredpriyatii)" [The Collective Manages (The Experience

of Leading Enterprises in Kazakhstan in Implementing the Law on the State Enterprise). Furthermore the Ministry of Justice proposed that the collections "Pravovoye obucheniye khozyaystvennykh kadrov" [Legal Education of Economic Cadres] and "Semya—zakon, problemy" [The Family—Law and Problems] be included in the topic plans for 1993-1994.

Despite much-planned work to produce legal literature still not enough timely legal publications for the mass reader are coming out. This is being hindered by a number of factors: the lack of specific orders and topics, inadequate activism by lawyers, dry and uninteresting presentation of material, and an inability to carry on lively and involved discussion with the reader in the form of interviews, live talks, and 'round table' discussions. The publishing house is taking certain steps in this direction, enlisting as authors of booklets not only experienced lawyers but also popularizing journalists.

Concerning the other issues raised in N. Lantrat's note, we report that our system does not receive VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA KAZAKHSKOY SSR for sale in the retail network.

The orders of Kazkniga for legal literature are rising each year: 376,000 copies worth a total of 340,000 rubles in 1986, and in 1989 (according to the topic plan) 518,000 copies worth a total of 916,000 rubles.

In 1989 the stores of the republic will offer such large-scale Yuridicheskaya Literatura publications as V. Kurilov's "Formirovaniye povedeniya lichnosti v sfere truda. Pravovyye voprosy" [Molding of Individual Behavior in the labor Sphere. Legal Issues], L. Syrovatskaya's "Otvetstvennost za narusheniya trudovoy discipliny" [Accountability for Violations of Labor Discipline], and the collections "Nastolnaya kniga khozyaystvennogo rukovoditelya po zakonodatelstvu" [Legal Manual for the Economic Manager] and "Konsultatsii po pensionnym voprosam" [Consultation on Pension Questions].

The stores of Alma-Ata (Dom Knigi, Nasikhat, No 19, and others) today have open for sale particular codes, textbooks on Soviet law, the collections "Zakonodatelstvo o kapitalnom stroitelstve" [Law on Capital Construction], "Profilaktika pyanstva, alkoholizma i narkomanii sredi molodezhi" [Prevention of Drunkenness, Alcoholism, and Drug Addiction among Young People], the books "Otvetstvennost za godusarstvennyye prestupleniya" [Accountability for State Crimes] by S. Dyakov, "Kommentariy k polozheniyu o komissiyakh po delam nesovershennoletnikh" [Commentary on the Stateute on Commissions for Minors' Affairs] by V. Pronin, "Pravo na alimenty" [The Right to Means of Support] by I. Grinshin, and "Samofinansirovaniye predpriyatiy: pravovyye voprosy" [Self-Financing of Enterprises: Legal Issues] by S. Zapolskiy, booklets from the Kazakhstan Publishing House series, and other legal publications.

Goskomizdat thanks the readers of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA for their attention to questions of legal propaganda in the republic. We await more suggestions and recommendations on meeting reader demand from you. The publishing houses that are engaged in publishing legal literature are ready to review specific orders from all author collectives and interested organizations.

Penal Detention of Juveniles To Be 'Humanized'
18000301 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Dec 88 p 6

[Article by VI. Arsenyev under the rubric "From Authoritative Sources": "From Behind the Boundary"]

[Text] It is the tragedy and anguish of society: youths, virtually children, convicts in prison. They are criminals. At present there are 88 educational labor colonies for juveniles in the country. They hold about 29,000—including 1,400 girls. A decision has now been made to conduct an experiment in these colonies in humanizing the system and conditions under which they serve their sentences.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] intends to carry out a fundamental reorganization of the existing system of punishing juvenile offenders in prison. A new model of the educational labor colony [ELC], together with a new conception of its functioning, has been worked out on the basis of experience gained in Hungary, Romania, the GDR, and countries in the West.

Lt Gen of Internal Service I. N. Katargin, chief of the MVD Main (United) Administration for Corrections, comments as follows:

"A draft of the model program has been submitted to the government for review, and the experimental introduction of some of its elements is already under way in 21 colonies. Essentially, to be brief, this effort comes down to humanizing the system and conditions of serving a sentence in the educational labor colonies under the USSR MVD.

Possibly, not everyone will interpret this innovation in the same way. But look at the statistics, which there is no reason to doubt. Throughout the country as a whole the number of juvenile crimes directed against persons has been going steadily down. About half of ELC inmates are serving sentences for theft of state, social, or personal property. Moreover, there are presently 4,000 fewer ELC inmates than there were at the start of 1988. In other words, the relaxed attitude with which juveniles conduct themselves today in no way signifies that they are felons, in the judgment of the USSR MVD, or that they are more criminally inclined or aggressive, say, than in the past.

Another matter is how to behave with those who are serving sentences in colonies. Experience indicates that trust in a young person and a good relationship with him

leads to more substantial results than hardness, sternness, and prison rules. A colony is no pioneer camp, quite apart from this. Among juveniles conditionally put on probation, instead of serving sentences, the rate of recidivism is only 3 percent or four times less than it is among inmates. Nevertheless, in colonies where juveniles are treated in a humane manner, other things being equal, recidivism may be brought to a minimum.

If this were the case everywhere, the USSR MVD would scarcely consider it necessary to reorganize the ELC system. With reference to the findings of A. S. Makarenko, it goes without saying that, in allowing for the special circumstances of the present, USSR MVD officials have tried to incorporate into the model program all aspects pertaining to the lot of juvenile offenders. Fundamentally, they have been guided by the dictum of Lenin calling for the transition from prisons to educational institutions. In sum, they have carried out on an unprecedented scale the certification of workers in the correctional labor institutions and in the educational labor colonies, relieving from duty or discharging several thousand persons. Moreover, they have decided to take these measures:

Eliminate the division of colonies according to types of disciplinary regime depending upon the gravity of crime committed;

Refrain from transferring prisoners below the age of 18 to colonies with adults;

Broaden the rights of colony inmates and institute self-management practices;

Permit telephone calls and promote contacts with parents—up to and including visits to their homes;

Open up ELC isolation wards used during investigations, so that juveniles under investigation come into contact with adult offenders as little as possible;

Create centers of social adaptation for those who have demonstrated their rehabilitation.

These are only some of the facets of the new model program. Centers of social adaptation are new concept. Essentially, they constitute a stage that has not existed previously, during which the trainee lives outside of the colony in a special hostel and works at an enterprise. It is believed that in this way he will be better prepared to live under conditions of freedom, having a job and being familiar with living in a group. In the final analysis, that is the main thing. It is not simply, and not exclusively, a matter of punishment when dealing with juvenile offenders."

In conclusion, I. N. Katargin said that the new model ELC program will be widely put into practice in 1990. If it gets off to a good beginning, it will consolidate fundamental changes in the educational discipline of juveniles. If only it were not necessary to send them to colonies. However, that goal is not within the power of the militia to accomplish alone.

**Estonian Union of Labor Collectives Charter
Published**

*Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian
7 Jan 89 p 3*

[Text of the "Charter of the Union of Labor Collectives of the Estonian SSR" adopted at the Estonian SSR Union of Labor Collectives Constituent Conference on 30 November 1989]

[Text]

1. General Positions and Basic Objectives

1.1. The Union of Labor Collectives of the Estonian SSR (subsequently STK) is a public organization (of the labor collectives operating in the territory of the Estonian SSR) to carry out joint activities for the development of a unified social and national economic complex of the Estonian SSR based on the concept of republic cost accounting (IME). For this purpose, the STK is open to all labor collectives.

1.2. The STK is an independent cost accounting organization with the rights of a corporate body representing rayon and city labor collectives of the Estonian SSR on behalf of its members in matters of the social and economic development of the Estonian SSR as well as in the elaboration of IME legislation in public, state, soviet and international organizations and bodies.

The decisions of the STK are advisory in nature for state and government bodies as well as for economic and public organizations.

In its actions, the STK does not replace the agencies of authority and state administration called upon to elaborate and introduce IME.

1.3. In its actions, the STK proceeds:

- from the Constitution and legislation of the Estonian SSR;
- from the IME concept approved by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet;
- from the basic positions of the 11th Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee;
- from the Law of the USSR "On Labor Collectives and Increasing Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Institutions and Organizations" (from 17 June 1983);
- from the Law of the USSR "On the State Enterprise (Association)" (from 30 June 1987);
- from the Law of the USSR "On Cooperation in the USSR" (from 26 May 1988).

1.4. The STK is striving to expand economic democracy, to improve the quality of the standard of living of the inhabitants of Estonia, to establish a more acceptable human production environment, to ensure creative self-revelation of the personality, to evaluate good work and to have social justice.

1.5. In its work, the STK defends the interests of labor collectives against the administrative and economic arbitrariness of departments and fights for the right of the collectives to determine their economic activities independently.

1.6. The STK supports the course of party, state and government authorities to democratize the society and to establish a state under the rule of law in the Estonian SSR.

2. Basic Principles of Action

2.1. It specifies and further develops the IME concept of republic cost accounting proceeding from the specific nature of a given region, sector of the national economy and organization. It elaborates and implements specific social and economic development programs.

2.2. It assists in transferring economic organizations to actual cost accounting, operating at all regional levels in the interests of the establishment of a unified national economic complex.

2.3. It develops joint actions with local state and government bodies in the interests of implementing IME.

2.4. It contributes to the resolution of specific economic and organizational questions and to the establishment of cooperative and other ties within the boundaries of the republic, region and sector.

2.5. It develops cooperation with interdepartmental, republic, All-Union and international scientific organizations, development organizations and consultative organizations.

2.6. It supports initiatives that accelerate the renewal and improvement of the national economic system, provide solutions to the national economy of Estonia and combine industry, agriculture, science, education and culture in a single social and economic complex.

2.7. It disseminates theoretical-practical economic and administrative information and seeks to raise the qualifications of managers, specialists and key workers.

2.8. Strives in its work to bring about the priority provision of the inhabitants of Estonia with foodstuffs, consumer goods, equipment, building materials and other goods produced in the republic.

Organizational Structure and Work Regime

3.1. The general assembly is the highest body of the STK. The general assembly of the STK is convened no less frequently than once a year.

The general assembly adopts the charter and makes amendments to it, discusses and evaluates the execution of general and special programs, makes changes when necessary and resolves other matters concerning the STK.

3.2. A Council of Representatives elected by the General Assembly with a standard representation of two members from each city subordinate to the republic and each region and eight representatives from Tallinn operates in the period between sessions of the general assembly.

3.3. The Council of Representatives elects from among its members a Directorate, which, in agreement with the Council of Representatives and on its behalf, establishes and dissolves a bureau, a scientific council, temporary scientific teams and other necessary bodies, including a commercial bank, to carry on day-to-day work.

3.4. The basic objective of the scientific council is to organize scientific-methodological work and cooperation with scientific organizations and teams. The scientific council provides scientific expertise and coordinates republic and regional programs based on the general concept of republic cost accounting IME.

3.5. An auditing office is elected by the general assembly and is accountable to the general assembly. Auditing offices are also elected in regional unions.

3.6. The regional union (RS) is the basic subdivision of the STK. An RS is established in one region or city subordinate to the republic from representatives of labor collectives. In the case of the establishment of independent subdivisions, the unions of rural soviets, settlements, towns subordinate to rayons, and urban rayons can join the RS.

3.7. The highest managing body of the RS is the general assembly of representatives of the labor collectives, which elects from its own environment a directorate to coordinate the RS in the period between general assemblies. It maintains ties with the Republic Directorate of the STK, utilizes monetary and other material resources within the limits of the powers of the general assembly, establishes temporary scientific teams when necessary, and enters into contracts with institutions, organizations and individual scientists and specialists within the scope of regional general and special programs for the introduction of IME.

3.8. The Council of Representatives of the STK and the Directorate and RS established by it operate in accordance with the rights of corporate bodies in guiding the establishment and development of ties and the signing of

contracts with state and public organizations, scientific institutions and individual scientists and specialists in the Estonian SSR and other union republics as well as abroad.

3.9. The STK has the right to establish its own press organ.

3.10. The material and financial resources of the STK and RS necessary for their work are derived from the dues of participating members, from the sale of their own publications and newspapers, from the voluntary contributions of citizens, organizations and movements and other contributions to the fund of the STK and other sources.

3.11. In resolving questions in the work of the STK, the participating members have equal voting rights regardless of the size of the collective.

3.12. The STK is formed from the collectives joining the RS. The Council of RS Representatives resolves the question of the acceptance of labor collectives to the RS.

4. Concluding Positions

4.1. The charter of the STK is subject to confirmation in the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

4.2. The STK of the Estonian SSR is reorganized and abolished in the established legal order by resolution of the general assembly.

Vagris Meets Journalists, Discusses Media Role in Light of 5 Jan LaSSR CC Plenum

18000435 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
10 Jan 89 pp 1-2

[Latinform report: "A Meeting with Journalists"]

[Text] Members of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro met with the republic's mass media leaders and correspondents of central publications. They discussed the activities of the press, radio and television since the plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee which dealt with the fulfillment of decisions coming out of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and urgent tasks of the republic party organization at the contemporary stage.

The meeting was conducted by Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee.

Among other things, he stated the following: "We have invited you for an exchange of opinions on the results of the plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee and on preparations for the forthcoming, special congress of the Latvian SSR Journalists' Union. These contacts between party workers and representatives of the press, television and radio should be constantly maintained. Party, soviet and management leaders of the republic and of Latvia's cities and rayons must speak out on the air and in the

press on a daily basis. Unfortunately, they are still participating little in the work of the mass media. We are engaged in the common cause of restructuring, after all, and should be interested in making a joint effort. One of our main tasks, Ya.Ya. Vagris went on to say, is to publicize positive experience in the restructuring. Along with constructive criticism the newspapers and magazines and the radio and television broadcasts should include also the positive results achieved in the work of both entire collectives and individuals, whether it be an official, a party worker or a rank and file laborer.

I.Ya. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee, addressed the journalists.

It was noted that most of the republic's mass media are contributing to the process of restructuring, democratization and glasnost. The January plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee and the documents approved there defined an urgent task of the republic's mass media—to place the main stress on consolidating the efforts of the Communists and all of Soviet Latvia's residents for the resolution of practical problems: intensification of the restructuring, acceleration of the economic and political reforms, and the securing of real priority for agriculture.

The press, it was noted at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, must rise more confidently to a qualitatively new level in its work. This involves the most extensive comparison of opinions, earnest criticism, the publicizing of progressive experience, in-depth analysis, and a responsible approach to the job.

International relations are one of the most urgent subjects. Right now, during preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on international issues, we must have diverse ways of presenting articles—more interviews with scientists and round-table discussions with party, soviet and management workers, blue-collar and kolkhoz workers, representatives of the technological and creative intelligentsia and the youth, people of the most diverse nationalities.

As we keep the readers and viewers informed about the restructuring processes both in our republic and in other regions of the nation, we need to rely not on journalistic emotions, but on objectivity, common sense and competence. A study has shown that excessive emotion and high-sounding statements, biased presentation of the information and attempts to inflame emotions and passions, to sow national or social suspicion and to pit various social groups against one another frequently predominate in the newspapers and magazines, in television and radio broadcasts today.

Thorough enhancement of the political sophistication of the people and their ability to discuss the most complex subjects is demanded today, and the journalists must set the example.

Speaking of the large role of the mass media in preparations for the elections of people's deputies of the USSR, I.Ya. Kezbers stressed the fact that the preelection campaign should be a factor uniting the republic's population. In this respect we must have explanations of the preelection appeal by the Latvian CP Central Committee to all the Communists, to all the workers and all the republic's electors, of amendments to the Constitution of the USSR and the Law on Elections, the publicizing of legal information, the accumulation and summarization of experience with political work under the new conditions, and a demonstration of our common interest in seeing to it that truly the most worthy become deputies.

We need fewer generalized statements about the calling of the people's deputy and more specific facts indicating the position taken in the restructuring by this or that candidate for deputy.

The mass media should constantly keep an eye on the key problems of today: increasing the production of food and consumer goods, housing construction, improving the quality of our work, strengthening performance discipline, improving the economic situation, and achieving progress in the fulfillment of plans outlined in these areas. It is important to enquire about how things are going with the conversion to complete economic accountability, self-financing and self-management, what is hampering the actual involvement of workers in the management of state affairs, what is preventing us from surmounting bureaucratism, and how various elements of the party and the state are restructuring.

There was a concerned exchange of opinions on the issues discussed. Problems pertaining to material and technical support for the editorial offices and to improving the journalists' working conditions were also brought up.

The following spoke at the meeting: Ya.Ya. Leya, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio; K.K. Dundurs, director of the Publishing House of the Latvian CP Central Committee; Z.D. Osman, director of the Latvian Information Agency [Latinform] of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers; SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent R.S. Timkov; Ya.S. Barkan and I.P. Rakins, deputy chairmen of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio; E.K. Upmal, chief of the Main Administration for Protection of State Secrets in the Press of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers; Ya.Ye. Bluka, first deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Culture; A.Ya. Tsi-rulis, editor of the newspaper PADOMJU JAUNATNE; F.M. Rityn, chief editor of the magazine ZINATNE UN TEKHNIKA; V.L. Dozortsev, chief editor of the magazine DAUGAVA; and E.L. Govorushko, SOVETS-KAYA KULTURA correspondent.

Taking part in the discussion with the journalists were V.P. Sobolev, second secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee; Ya.Ya. Okherin, secretary of the Latvian CP

Central Committee; I.A. Priyeditis, first secretary of the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee; and K.A. Litsis, director of affairs of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers.

LaSSR Draft Law on Latvian Language Readied for Public Discussion

18000446 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
3 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with A. Kruminsh, head of the Legal Department at the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, by V. Steshenko, LATINFORM correspondent: "Draft Law Is Readied for Public Discussion"; place and date not specified]

[Text] On 6 October 1988 the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet issued a decree "On the Status of the Latvian Language." The republic's public shows great interest in how the realization of the decree is proceeding. V. Steshenko, LATINFORM correspondent, asked A. KRUMINSH, head of the Legal Department at the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, to discuss this.

[Kruminsh] In accordance with the decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet, which instructed the Presidium to work out a legislative draft act on the use of languages, as well as a draft law on a supplement to the Latvian SSR Constitution (Basic Law), a special commission headed by A. Blinkena, professor, doctor of philological sciences, was formed. The commission has already completed its work and presented the draft law on the use of languages and the draft decree of the republic's Supreme Soviet on the procedure of implementing this law.

A conference with the participation of managers of several departments, primarily those where practical bilingualism is especially urgent, was held in the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet on 2 January, the first work day of the new year. It discussed the proposed documents. Specialists will now carry out their expert examination for a week. Then at the end of January the drafts will be examined at a meeting of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, where the problem of submitting them for public discussion will be resolved.

As is well known, the republic's Council of Ministers was also instructed to work out specific measures ensuring the functioning of the Latvian language as the state language. The statement of the decree by the Council of Ministers was published recently. Incidentally, the statement discusses office work, in connection with which many questions are received from citizens. I must make the necessary clarification: The decree of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers raises the question of using the Latvian language in office work, not of the latter's complete transfer to the Latvian language, which would be unrealistic.

[Steshenko] Unfortunately, some zealous managers try to solve the subtle and delicate problem of the use of languages by administrative-pressure methods. To what extent will people's rights be protected?

[Kruminsh] It will be possible to find out about this in greater detail from the draft law. However, I would like to mention one of the main principles right away. Article 4 of the draft states clearly: The citizen entering into relations with an institution, an enterprise, and an organization has the right to choose the language of communication and the institution, enterprise, and organization are obliged to ensure this right.

Administrative excesses and running ahead are inadmissible here. More delicacy, attention, and respect for the person one talks to—this is what I would like to wish all those who now have to choose the language in which to communicate with each other.

LaSSR Commission Studies Feasibility of Time Zone Change for Republic

18000389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
30 Dec 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Resolution of the Commission for Studying the Feasibility of Having Time in the Latvian SSR Correspond to the Geographical Zone"]

[Text] On 9 November 1988, academician B. A. Purin, president of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, in accordance with a decree by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 27 October 1988, formed a commission to study the feasibility of having the LaSSR time zone conform to the republic's geographical position.

After studying the matter within the limits of its jurisdiction, the commission came to the following conclusions:

1. Medical, psychological, and physiological data as well as social practice attest to the fact that a difference between legal time and geographical, or zonal, time can have a detrimental effect upon the functioning of various processes in the human organism; for it upsets the natural, or biological, diurnal rhythm of these processes—that is, the rhythm of wakefulness and sleep. The biological diurnal rhythm is formed by mechanisms for recording time and temporal reflexes of the central nervous system, which reproduce a mean rhythm of the interchange of sunlight and nocturnal darkness; and it coincides approximately with the 24-hour clock time appropriate for the zone. These temporal reflexes tend to prepare the body for waking and getting up. The biological diurnal rhythm begins to form during the period of the development of the human embryo, and among those who live in a certain geographical zone during the years of childhood and early youth it strengthens to such a degree that it is not subject to the control the conscious mind, nor can it be either extinguished or corrected. Thus the biological diurnal rhythm is of fundamental significance for the health, psychological well-being, and

continuing capacity to work; for it regulates a sharp rise in the vital activity of both the organs of the body and the psyche, as well as the expenditure of energy reserves during the waking state, followed by a diminution of activity and the renewal of expended reserves and their accumulation during the time of sleep. In the case of a person living under conditions of legally established time, as a result of the dominance of the natural diurnal rhythm, which is established in the depths of the subconscious, a definite and programmed rhythm of clock time is formed by legal decree at the level of consciousness; it is not able to suppress the biological rhythm, but it continually acts to interfere with its functioning and to disturb the stages of sleep—that is, the optimum relationship and sequences of deep sleep—as a result of which the effectiveness of sleep as a restorer and regulator of physical and intellectual reserves is diminished. The activity of a person in the state of wakefulness likewise suffers in this connection. It is known that in order to obtain full rest, the intervals of sleep between the hours of 2200 and 2400 (that is, prior to astronomical midnight) and the two hours in the morning between 0600 and 0800 are particularly important. Under conditions of legally instituted time, a chronic disturbance of these time spans takes place, disrupting the optimum rhythm for the stages of sleep. As a result a large percentage of adults as well as children do not manage to get a complete rest or acquire the vigor and psychological comfort that is necessary. Children do not arrive at kindergarten at an optimum level of physical capacity, and adults begin to perform top-quality work only after a long period of practice. Maximum work productivity is attained at a later time (only at around 0930 hours in industrial plants).

The shift between legal time and zonal time in Latvia is a substantial one. For example, at 0600 hours according to Moscow time, in Latvia it is 0430 in terms of biological time in winter and 0300 in summer. This means that the working day begins when mental and physical aptitudes are at their lowest level. (In our time zone this period is between 0300 and 0600 hours in the morning.) The supply of blood to the brain at this time is also at its lowest level. This has a detrimental effect especially on workers doing mental work since they have to begin work under conditions of diminished capability and end work when their ability to work is at its peak. This disturbance of the diurnal rhythm has an adverse effect on the organic functions of the hormone system and may result in damage to various endocrine functions, especially in women. It may lead to permanent biosynthetic alterations of active elements in the blood, of hormones produced by the pituitary gland (gonadotropins, somatotropin, prolactin), and of steroids in the reproductive system (androgens and estrogens).

In summary, it may be concluded that the introduction of zonal time will make possible the restoration of a stable biological diurnal rhythm, which in turn will promote good health, psychological equilibrium, and a

capacity to work together with productivity, while making it possible to effectively offset disturbances in mental and physical activity that arise eventually with the shift to seasonal or summer time.

2. Animals as well as human beings possess biological rhythms, the principal characteristic of which in establishing a sense of time is light. If the rhythm set by man in agricultural production does not correspond to the natural one, the organic rhythm of animals becomes unsynchronized and their productivity therefore diminishes. The imposed rhythm causes stress in animals, which in turn reduces their resistance to disease, including that of leucosis. A switch to zonal time would make their feeding, milking, and resting time more closely approximate their biological rhythms and thus help to raise the effectiveness of stock farming. Milking at processing points by means of modern technology in daylight hours prevents the milk turning sour.

Commencing work according to zonal time during harvests would be closer to the time that the dew disappears—that is, it would reduce enforced delays. Thus in the field of agriculture, too, the switch to zonal time is an essential factor in raising the effectiveness of the industry, not to mention the fact that all the medical conclusions examined above apply as well to those engaged in agricultural production. Thanks to this shift, the working hours of those engaged in stock farming would also be returned to normal, and this would facilitate the filling of professional positions.

3. Latvian SSR Gosplan and the Power Engineering Institute of the LaSSR Academy of Sciences also support the switch to zonal time in keeping with the geographical position of Latvia. They calculate that such a shift in the republic (representing a difference of one hour from Moscow time both in summer and winter), assuming the existing rhythm of work remains unchanged (i.e., the time when work begins and ends), will make possible a reduction in the peak morning power load within the United North-West Power System, which at any given moment exceeds the maximum evening load by an average of 10 percent. This makes it possible to say that by more efficiently exploiting the morning daylight it is possible to achieve a reduction in the use of electrical power for lighting purposes.

4. The proposed changeover to zonal time has been examined also by several scientific bodies, including the Academy of Sciences' Radio Astronomy Observatory, the Latvian State University Astronomy Observatory, the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Biology, the Society of Astronomy and Geodesy, as well as several labor groups. They are unanimous in their endorsement and continuing support of this change. Thousands of republic residents have expressed similar wishes in letters. The Latvian People's Front has made the same proposal in

one of its resolutions. This signifies that a majority of the Latvian population is in favor of the change, and this fact no doubt will have to be taken into consideration in resolving this issue.

5. Among the members of this commission, representing a variety of institutions and departments, there is not a single person who has expressed fundamental objections to establishing local time in Latvia.

6. The commission is of the opinion that there is no necessity for further study of this issue or for a broad public opinion survey, and that the organization of practical matters preparatory to the transition may now be undertaken. (Coordination of matters between the various organizations is not among the tasks assigned, nor is it within the jurisdiction, of this commission.) The commission for its part proposes the following sequence of events in the transition: The conversion to "summer time" in 1989 should be omitted, but in converting to "winter time" at 0300 hours on the last Sunday in September 1989, the clock should be moved back one hour; in subsequent years, however, conversions to "summer" and "winter" time should be made as required according to the established procedure. A proposal to refrain altogether from converting to "summer" and "winter" time did not receive the endorsement of the commission and remains in abeyance for the time being. The commission does not, however, exclude the possibility of exploring the matter further, mindful of the fact that a proportion of the republic population and some medical personnel as well are against such changes.

7. In conclusion, the commission sets forth the following observations, considerations, and proposals:

a) In order to make it easier for republic residents to orient themselves, if necessary, to differences between Moscow and local time, consideration should be given to the possibility of installing clocks with two hour hands—one indicating Moscow time, the other local time—in railroad stations, ports of entry, airports and service stations.

b) Broad coverage should be given to the need for instituting local time and measures necessary to effect the changeover in republic radio broadcasts, television programs, and the periodical press (especially in the Russian language).

c) It is necessary to coordinate the activities of local and inter-republic transport (by railroad, aircraft, and motor vehicle).

d) Communications with all-Union bodies that begin work an hour earlier than our institutions will not be substantially affected adversely.

e) In the process of intensifying production, the use of local time may assist the transition to working in two shifts, inasmuch as it will be easier to get up for the first

shift. Labor collectives which are not satisfied with the changeover may change their hours of work with the concurrence of the local soviets.

f) It should also be noted that large areas of the USSR (Gorkiy, Volgograd, and Kirov oblasts, Tatar ASSR, and Northern Siberia) no longer use the "legal" time temporarily introduced in 1930, but use instead the local time that conforms to their geographical positions.

g) It should be noted that such television programs as "Viewpoint" and "Before and After Midnight," which play as important a part in the social and political life of our republic as local broadcasts do, will become even more accessible to republic residents with the changeover to local time. If there should be any incompatibility in the time of certain central and local radio or television programs, it may be easily offset by the use of modern sound and video recording technology together with subsequent retransmission in accordance with local time.

[Signed] A. Balklavs, commission chairman; G. Zenkevich, commission deputy chairman; P. Eglite, commission scientific secretary; and the following commission members: A. Auzinya, A. Krauklis, V. Klassens, Z. Krishans, A. Kozhukhov, A. Oshs, V. Malov, L. Roze, K. Svilpe, and K. Vitols.

LaSSR SupSov Proposes Changes To Draft Law on Electing People's Deputies
18000252 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
19 Nov 88 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Proposal: On the USSR Draft Law 'On Elections of USSR People's Deputies,' Drafted by the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Juridical Department Jointly with the Republic's Leading Specialists in Juridical Sciences"]

[Text]1. Place the following wording in Article 1:

"Article 1. Basis for the elections of USSR people's deputies

The election of USSR people's deputies shall be conducted in single-mandate electoral districts on the basis of universal, equal and direct electoral rights with secret voting. According to the norms established by the USSR Constitution, one-third of the USSR people's deputies are elected in territorial electoral districts, one-third in national-territorial electoral districts, and one-third from social organizations—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the Komsomol, and associations of women, war and labor veterans, scientific workers, creative unions and other social organizations and unions of USSR citizens, created according to the set legal procedure and possessing union-wide or republic agencies—in multi-mandate territorial electoral districts."

2. In the first part of Article 2:

Exclude the words "from electoral districts" from the first proposal;

Exclude the second proposal.

3. In Article 3:

Exclude the words "from the electoral districts" in the first part;

Exclude the second part.

Add a second proposal to the last part, containing the following:

"Servicemen located in military units, as well as the family members of servicemen and other voters who reside in rayons where military units are placed, shall participate in elections according to special territorial districts."

4. In Article 4:

Exclude the words "from electoral districts" in the first part;

Exclude the second part.

5. In Article 9:

Replace the words "their union-wide agencies" in the first part with the words "their union-wide and republic agencies";

Exclude the words "as a rule" in the second part.

6. Replace the words "Committee for Constitutional Supervision" in Article 11 with the words "constitutional court."

7. In Article 14:

Exclude the words "from the electoral districts" in the second part, and exclude the third part;

Introduce the following wording in the last part:

"Information regarding the day of elections shall be published in the press."

8. Place the following wording in Article 15:

"Article 15. The formation of electoral districts

For elections of USSR people's deputies, 750 territorial electoral districts, 750 national-territorial electoral districts and no fewer than 15 electoral districts representing social organizations shall be formed.

Electoral districts are formed by the Central Electoral Commission on the Election of USSR People's Deputies, on the representation of the higher state authorities of union republics. Special territorial districts are formed by the Central Electoral Commission, on the representation of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

One USSR people's deputy shall be elected from each territorial and national-territorial electoral district.

The number of deputies from each electoral district representing social organizations is established by the Central Electoral Commission in proportion to the number of voters in the union republic.

Lists of the electoral districts, indicating their borders and the location of the district electoral commission, shall be published by the Central Electoral Commission no later than ten days after the date of the elections has been set.

9. Place the following wording in Article 17:

"Article 17. National-territorial electoral districts

The national-territorial electoral districts for the election of USSR people's deputies are formed according to the standard of 50 districts per union republic.

National-territorial electoral districts are to be formed with an equal number of voters in the entire territory of the corresponding union republic."

10. In the first part of Article 18:

Exclude the word "union-wide" in the first paragraph;

Exclude the words "and possessing union-wide agencies" in the last paragraph.

11. Add the following content to the draft of Article 18:

"Article 18. Electoral districts representing social organizations

One or several multi-mandate electoral districts representing social organizations shall be formed in each union republic. The number of mandates from each social organization, within the limits of the overall number of mandates per electoral district, is to be set by the Central Electoral Commission on the representation of the union-wide and republic agencies of social organizations."

12. Place the following wording in Article 19:

"Article 19. The formation of electoral wards.

In order to conduct voting and count the votes in the elections of USSR people's deputies, the territories of rayons, cities, and rayons within cities shall be divided

into electoral wards, common for the elections of people's deputies from territorial electoral districts, national-territorial electoral districts, and electoral districts representing social organizations.

Electoral wards will also be formed in military units and be included in the special territorial electoral districts."

13. Exclude the second proposals in the first and second parts of Article 20.

14. Replace the words "electoral commissions" in the last paragraph of Article 21 with the words "district electoral commissions."

15. Replace the words "consisting of a chairman, two deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 31 commission members" in Article 22 with the words "consisting of a chairman, two deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 26 commission members—two representatives from each union republic."

16. Place the following wording in points 3 and 4 of Article 23:

"3) forms electoral districts; 4) solves problems concerning the voting procedure for USSR citizens located beyond the borders of the USSR."

17. In Article 24:

Place the following wording in the fourth part:

"The district electoral commissions on elections of USSR people's deputies from national-territorial electoral districts shall be formed by the higher state authorities of the union republic";

Add a fifth part to the Article with the following content:

"The district electoral commissions for elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations shall be formed by the higher state authorities corresponding to the union republic."

18. In Article 25:

Exclude the words "from territorial and national-territorial electoral districts" in the first paragraph;

Place the following wording in point 5:

"5) assists in nominating candidates for deputy."

19. Exclude point 3 in Article 27.

20. Exclude Articles 28 and 29.

21. Exclude the fourth part of Article 32.

22. Replace the words "residing (permanently or temporarily)" in the first part of Article 33 with the words "permanently residing."

23. Place the following wording in the first part of Article 34:

"The lists of voters shall be presented for general familiarization 1 month prior to the election."

24. Place the following wording in Article 35:

"Article 35. Procedure for voting by citizens temporarily absent on election day

During a trip away from one's permanent place of residence during the time of elections, the voter has the right to send, personally or by proxy, a notice regarding his choice, sealed in an envelope, to the ward electoral commission before the election day. The envelope will be opened on voting day and the voter's notice is to be taken into account when counting the votes."

25. Exclude Article 36.

26. In Article 37:

Exclude the words "in the electoral districts" in the title of the article;

Place the following wording in the first part:

"The nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies shall begin 3 months before and end 2 months before the elections";

Word the first proposal in the second part as follows:

"The nomination of candidate deputies will be conducted according to territorial and national-territorial electoral districts from labor collectives numbering no less than 200 workers, at the meetings of the collectives";

Replace the figure "500" in the fourth part with the figure "200";

Add a new part after the seventh part with the following content:

"Every USSR citizen has the right to nominate his own candidacy, apart from a meeting, if his candidacy is supported by no fewer than 1,000 voters in the given electoral district";

Place the following wording in the next to last part:

"Citizens can be nominated as candidate USSR people's deputies who work or live: during elections in territorial electoral districts, as a rule, in the territory of the corresponding electoral district; and during elections in

national-territorial districts, in the territory of the corresponding union, autonomous republic, autonomous oblast or autonomous okrug."

27. Place the following wording in Article 38:

"Article 38. The district pre-election meeting.

A district pre-election meeting may be held in order to discuss the candidate USSR people's deputies nominated for an electoral district and their pre-election programs. The meeting is to be convened by the district electoral commission and held after the nomination of candidate deputies has been completed.

Participants in the district pre-election meeting are delegated by the labor collectives, by the agencies of social organizations, by meetings of voters according to place of residence, and by servicemen according to military unit, which had nominated the candidate deputies, in an equal number according to the norms set by the district electoral commission.

The list of all candidate deputies nominated in a given district and basic information about them is to be presented to the participants in the district pre-election meeting well in advance.

At the meeting, a candidate deputy is granted the opportunity to give an account of his program for future activity. Any participant in the meeting has the right to discuss the candidate deputies and to make his own suggestions at it.

The result of the discussion of candidate deputies is to be reflected in the minutes of the meeting."

28. Exclude the second proposal of the first part and part five in Article 39.

29. Place the following wording in Article 40:

"Article 40. Registration of candidate USSR people's deputies.

The candidate USSR people's deputies shall be registered by the district electoral commission on the representation of the labor collectives, agencies of social organizations, meetings of voters by place of residence, and of servicemen by military unit, which nominated the candidate deputies, or on a declaration by a citizen who has nominated his own candidacy.

The registration of candidate deputies will begin 2 months before and end 1 month before the election day.

The decision to register candidate deputies will be made given the presence of the following documents: the minutes of meetings to nominate candidate deputies in the given electoral district and the minutes of the district pre-election meeting, if it was held, the decision by a

union-wide agency of a social organization, as well as the candidate deputies' declarations of consent to be a candidate for the given electoral district.

The decision to register a candidate deputy who has nominated himself shall be made given the presence of no less than 1,000 signatures of district voters. The voters' signatures should be accompanied by the following information: last name, name, patronymic, year and date of birth, and the signatory's permanent place of residence.

The electoral commission will compile the proceedings of the registration of candidate deputies, which is to be presented, along with the candidate deputies' declarations, to the Central Electoral Commission.

The corresponding electoral commission must register all candidate deputies nominated in observance of the requirements of existing Law. A refusal to register can be appealed to the Central Electoral Commission within a 3 day period.

A candidate deputy can be on the ballot in only one electoral district simultaneously.

A candidate deputy cannot be a member of the Central Electoral Commission or of the district or ward electoral commissions of the electoral district where he has been nominated as a candidate. A person nominated as a candidate deputy and standing on one of the indicated commissions shall be considered released from his duties on the commission from the moment of his registration as a candidate deputy.

No later than the fourth day after registering the candidate deputies, the corresponding electoral commission is to publish a notice in the press concerning said registration, indicating the last name, name, patronymic, year of birth, position held (occupation), and work place of each candidate deputy."

30. Replace the words "union-wide agency" in the first part of Article 41 with the words "union-wide or republic agency."

31. Replace the words "union-wide agency" in the second part of Article 42 with the words "union-wide or republic agency."

32. In Article 43:

Add the following proposal to the first part, after the first proposal:

"The number of deputies who can be elected in a multi-mandate electoral district, shall be indicated on the voting ballot of the given electoral district";

Exclude the second part.

33. Place the following wording in the first part of Article 44:

"Candidate USSR people's deputies, from the moment of their registration by the electoral commissions, are guaranteed an equal right to speak at pre-election and other gatherings, conferences, meetings, in the press, and on television and radio."

34. Place new wording in Article 45:

"Article 45. The pre-election program of a candidate USSR people's deputy.

A candidate USSR people's deputy must give a speech stating the program for his future activity."

35. Exclude the words in the second part of Article 46: "Or into an electoral commission on elections from a social organization."

36. In Article 51:

Exclude the words "from electoral districts" in the first part;

Exclude the second and third parts.

37. Place the following wording in Article 52, second, fourth and fifth parts:

"The ward electoral commission is responsible for organizing the voting, guaranteeing the secrecy of the voters' will, equipping the premises and maintaining the necessary order within them."

"Each voter is to vote individually; voting for other persons is not allowed. Ballots will be issued by the appropriate electoral commission based on the list of voters in the electoral ward, upon the presentation of a passport or other personal identification. A note is to be made on the list of voters regarding the issue of ballots."

"In cases in which individual voters cannot be on the premises for voting, due to health problems or for other reasons, at their request the ward electoral commission instructs individual members of the commission to organize voting at the place where these voters are."

38. In Article 53:

Place the following wording in the second part:

"During elections of USSR people's deputies in territorial and national-territorial electoral districts, the voter shall leave the last name of the candidate for whom he is voting on the ballot, and cross out the last names of the remaining candidates."

39. In Article 54:

Exclude the words "in elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral districts" in the first part;

Exclude the words "basic and supplementary" from the third part, and add the words "and the notices of voters, received in sealed envelopes," after the words "in the voting boxes";

Place the following wording in the first proposal of the fourth part:

"Ballots of a non-standard form, as well as ballots on which a greater number of candidates was left during voting than the number of deputies being elected, are to be deemed invalid";

Add a new part to the Article with the following contents:

"During the counting of votes, representatives of social organizations, labor collectives, as well as of the press, television and radio, have the right to attend."

40. Exclude the words "as well as in connection with the death of a candidate deputy, if one candidate was registered in the district," in the fourth part of Article 55.

41. Exclude Article 56.

42. Replace the words "of the electoral district or social organization, from which he was elected deputy" in Article 58 with the words "of the electoral district, from which he was elected deputy."

43. Exclude the words "electoral commission on elections from a social organization" in the first part of Article 59.

44. Exclude the second proposal in the second part of Article 60.

45. Place the following wording in the third part of Article 61:

"In cases in which the number of deputies elected turns out to be less than the number of mandates, and given the acknowledgment of the elections in an electoral district representing social organizations as invalid, the Central Electoral Commission will make a decision to hold repeat elections in said electoral district. In the repeat elections, the missing number of deputies from the corresponding social organization or all deputies in this district, if the previously held elections were deemed invalid, is to be elected. In this regard, the Central Electoral Commission can instruct the corresponding electoral commission, with its previous make-up, to conduct the elections, or appeal to the appropriate state authority with a petition to form an electoral commission of a new make-up."

46. Exclude the words "or in social organizations," as well as the words "or the electoral commission on elections from a social organization," in the first part of Article 62.

Lithuanian Economic Independence, Territorial Cost Accounting Viewed

18000372 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
25 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician A. Burachas, member of the Sejm Council of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement: "On the Paths of Restructuring": "Overcoming the Stereotype of Mistrust"]

[Text] Restructuring and radical economic reform have brought to life programs of territorial and sector cost accounting [*khozrashchet*], one mature version of which is the concept of the economic independence of the Baltic republics. Not many examples could be cited that evoke such a strong outpouring of distorted and prejudiced treatments in the press as this attempt to substantiate the principles of operational economic reform based on the strengthening of republic independence and responsibility. I thus feel it essential to set forth its basic principles.

What distinguishes the concept of the economic independence of the union republic from the more widespread approach of territorial cost accounting? The latter in the direct sense assumes the strict commensuration of expenditures and the results of labor on a certain territory and the self-supporting nature [*samookupayemost*] of the activity. This is a correct and advantageous principle of economic operation that is wholly applicable to material production and, correspondingly, its infrastructure. The significance of the sphere of applying intellectual potential and the social infrastructure overall, however, is today growing everywhere, where traditional criteria of the strict commensurability of expenditures and results are unfortunately still being only partially applied. This is all the more important for the USSR—a country whose consciousness included intentions of providing social guarantees and social equity. It is namely these preconditions, comprising the essence of the humanization of the economy, that distinguish the concept of the economic independence of the region from the Brezhnev slogan that "economics should be economics," the essence of which is "naked" cost accounting. Diverted from the problems of resolving tasks in guaranteeing a certain level of national culture, health care and education, the purely cost-accounting approach was oriented toward profits alone. This principle could be efficient only at the level of evaluating the activity of enterprises, associations and sectors. The resolution of social tasks on a certain territory therein was ensured via the creation of social funds and their partial cooperation, which inevitably went beyond the bounds of purely cost-accounting logic all the same.

The reinforcement of the rights of labor collectives in resolving important tasks in production and social development, on the one hand, and the rights of the soviets of people's deputies, on the other, indicate the necessity of radically altering the traditional mechanisms of social policy. The question of transition from the outmoded departmental distribution of the overwhelming portion of social consumption funds to the combination of social self-sufficiency, individual selection and social guarantees on the basis of territorial independence consequently arises in acute fashion. These problems were discussed broadly and fruitfully at meetings of Lithuanian economists and social scientists in November with CPSU Central Committee Politburo member N. Slyunkov, as well as at a meeting of editors from the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Vilnius with the participation of Academician L. Abalkin, Professor G. Popov and other eminent scholars of the country.

The dogma—and the rumors based on it—that in advancing the idea of the economic independence of the union republic the Soviet Baltic region was making the creation of preconditions for future secession from the USSR an end in itself has become widespread. First and foremost symptomatic, discussions of this are themselves widespread beyond the borders of the Baltic region, although advocates of extreme views are sometimes encountered here as well. They are moreover not taking into account that as a result of the division of labor that has taken shape among the republics, about 52-58 percent of all the products produced here are exchanged for roughly that same amount of imported ones. For instance, about one tenth of the precision machine building in the country is concentrated in the LiSSR, but all the non-ferrous metals, gas, oil and the like are imported. As M.S. Gorbachev accurately noted at a recent session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, this in and of itself determines the level and nature of the mutual ties and obligations of each union republic to the others, including the Baltic ones.

The economic independence of the republic assumes **not an aspiration for self-isolation and secession, but rather the division of responsibility** for the results of management, incentive and activity via the rehabilitation of a feeling of true ownership of **one's own** property in the Leninist understanding of the rights and obligations of a fully enfranchised member of the Union. The legal foundations unfortunately do not yet provide real guarantees for the effect of either the laws, for example, on the state enterprise, or the more so the principles of soviet power (first and foremost in the realm of relations among nationalities), which have still not received suitable legislative confirmation. But one cannot stand still and just wait for intelligent solutions from the center—the USSR Constitution, after all, guarantees legislative initiative to the supreme soviets of the union republics and other soviet institutions.

No few attempts to repudiate the idea of the economic independence of the region and the union republic via the elementary bending of the facts have appeared of late

in the central press in addition to the aforementioned basic positions. I will cite just a few of the most typical. VASKhNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin] Corresponding Member V. Miloserdov, in the article "The Investment and Return of a Region" in PRAVDA of 6 Dec 88, asserts that the subsidies for meat and milk for a resident of the RSFSR are roughly half that of those in the LiSSR. He unfortunately does not take into account the simple truth that almost half of all the meat and about forty percent of the milk from the LiSSR is shipped out to other republics. The rise in subsidies is thus connected exclusively with the increase in deliveries to the nationwide fund, as well as unilateral price increases for all types of spending on materialized labor with the artificial support of unchanged price levels for animal-husbandry products. Decreases in the compulsory deliveries of these products, as well as a rational review of prices for both agricultural equipment and feed, would make it possible basically to discard subsidies with the rejection of policies of increasing the price split by the all-union agro-industrial committee.

I also cannot agree with the opinion of V. Miloserdov where he turns inside out the mechanism for copying the nationwide management structure in the republics. USSR Minplodovoshch [Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry], for example, has created its own parasitic bureaucratic subdivisions in the localities, and not by desire of Lithuania or Estonia.

The logic of the author's reasoning in comparing world grain and meat prices also does not evoke confidence. The correlations of these prices are shown by international labor expenditures, in a number of cases with a regard for payments from state budgets to support farmers. The expenditures of forage for the production of a ton of meat are much higher in the USSR. And in arguing that it is more profitable to buy in the world market, any Soviet specialist would say that you will get ten times more, say, for microelectronics than for meat. And the preconditions for growth in the intellectual potential of the country are still being created therein. But one cannot live without meat!

The tone of the debate, by the way, surrounding **republic sovereignty** and the essence of national problems under the conditions of an expansion of the rights of the soviets of people's deputies is also playing no small role. It is appropriate here to look at these problems in the historical perspective. Recall that at the end of the 19th century, when a wave of resistance against the ban on the teaching of the Lithuanian language rose up in Lithuania, the advocates of Russification were surprised: why was the local population so unreasonably inclined against the conveniences of using a great-power language? Today the same bewilderment arises when the discussion concerns, for example, the return of their many-centuries-old script to the Moldavians, Tajiks or

Uzbeks. And special correspondent S. Kiselev of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, in the article "From Emotions to Sensible Actions" that was published on 14 Dec 88, was genuinely exasperated with, from his point of view, excesses in affirming national languages as state languages and the conversion of business affairs to them in the union republics. He is puzzled: do the union republics, having launched this "adventure," have enough teachers at their disposal, will they be able to assemble the necessary staff of translators? Where to get the funds for all this? Could, say, Lithuania or Estonia manage the development of their own economic potential without immigration?

But first and foremost, far from everything in the social development of the republics and regions can be measured on the scale of economics. In my opinion, these questions of the journalist were themselves sounded with a self-assurance that does not admit even the possibility of debate.

There is no need to elucidate that every language is a most important affirmation of originality and an expression of the spiritual national culture. That the efficiency of republic economic operation is assumed to be the rational and multiple-criteria disposition of all productive forces from the very beginning. It is clear that social guarantees should be firm in every republic and every collective. It is namely on constructive answers to these questions at all management levels that the real substance of socialism and the real rate of progress depend.

The Land Decree adopted by the first (Provisional) Revolutionary Lithuanian Government of Workers and Landless Peasants in 1919 said that "All land, resources, water, timber and the living force of nature within the boundaries of Lithuania as of now become the property of the entire Lithuanian Republic." This decree was not abrogated by anyone with the proclamation of the restoration of Soviet power of 21 Jun 40 and the entry of the LiSSR into the USSR. So why can our socialist republic itself not now own and dispose of its own land? The USSR Constitution, in proclaiming nationwide ownership, effectively reflects the need for the nationwide regulation of ecological and other problems. But constructive criteria for expanding the popular leasing of land with a long-term concern for raising the quality of its utilization and the coordination of the interests of the local population as reflected through the soviets of people's deputies with the goals of the union ministries and departments—which frequently and essentially with impunity pursue narrow departmental interests for near-term advantage—have still not been planned herein. Individuals may lease land, but the republic, as a fully enfranchised member of the Union, cannot obtain the full disposal of its own territory with all of the obligations arising therefrom.

Constructive solutions to the problems and consequences of levels of socialist ownership and the subordination of the rights and functions of it are thus essential

today to implement radical economic reform in the USSR. Comprehensiveness as a rational alternative assumes not only the integration of theoretical principles, but also their guiding authority in substantiating the new mechanism of economic operation, as well as its ways of operating in each union republic. It is namely the simultaneity of the search for various rational facets of this mechanism and the most successful methods of converting to the full realization of its "design capabilities" that can facilitate a rise in the guarantee of the common successes of socialist construction in the USSR and not the break-up of its republics.

Concept of National Minorities Examined
18000361a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
6 Dec 88 p 2

[Review by K. Valanchyus, docent and candidate in juridical sciences, of book by L. F. Boltenkova, "Internationalism In Action": "The National Minorities. Who Are They?"]

[Text] The question of the national minorities has been and remains a peculiar one in the sphere of national relations and national policy of the Soviet state. However, there is no definite view of the concept of the national minorities, even though this term is often mentioned in the literature dealing with the national question.

To science and political practice, however, it is not all the same how this term is understood and how it is currently perceived, since there are over 55 million people in the country who are either living outside the boundaries of their national-state formulations or have no such formulations at all.

This is why, in my opinion, the book published in 1988 by L. F. Boltenkova, "Internationalism In Action", is of such current importance.

In L. Boltenkova's opinion, the term "national minorities" emerged to counterbalance the term "aliens". When Russia became a colonial power, the psychology of national supremacy which was formulated in the upper echelons gradually penetrated into the minds of the ruling class as a result of the reactionary policy, and ultimately infected also a certain portion of the working population. Aside from all else, czarism expressed its attitude toward the smaller peoples, and then also toward certain more numerous non-Russian nations, with the term "aliens". This name served as a means of expressing national specificity, and in time it took on a derogatory connotation and became imbued with a definite political content.

V. I. Lenin used the term "aliens", as a rule, only as a means of exposing the reactionary policies of czarism in regard to the non-Russian peoples. He introduced the term "national minorities". Based on Lenin's remarks on the national minorities, on an analysis of the party

materials, and on the subsequent practice of national-state construction, we may assume, author L. F. Boltenkova notes that by the term national minorities we presume the lesser part of the nation, people, or ethnic community, rather than the community as a whole. These people, as a rule, have lived relatively compactly among the population of different nationality, removed from their main part, but used the same language, had the same psychology, traditions, everyday customs, and culture as the main population.

A people tied by historical fate with a specific territory and living on it is not a national minority, even if they are not numerous as compared with the people who have given their name to the state which they share in common. However, if individual portions of one people or another find themselves in other countries, i.e., separated from their native territory, then there they will be a national minority. However, even in such cases, as a rule, the author of the above-mentioned book notes that often it is necessary to review the question specifically, depending on the political and historical circumstances, to keep in mind both the quantitative factor and the reasons which motivated part of the people to find themselves in another country.

The book presents the question: Could individual representatives of the Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, Kazakh, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Moldavian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Latvian, Finnish, or Polish nationalities living in pre-revolutionary Russia be referred to as national minorities? Yes, they could, L. F. Boltenkova affirms. This would be in that case when the people of the listed nationalities lived not on historically formulated territory, not on "their own" territory, but rather among people of a different nationality, on "their" territory. Here it is not important that the Georgians and Kazakhs, for example, did not have national statehood at that time.

Could individual parts of the Russian nation be national minorities, the author continues. Yes, they could, she affirms. If the Russians, for example, live in the Ukraine, in Georgia, Armenia, etc., then they are considered national minorities.

Based on this fact, we may affirm that the Tatars, Yakuts, Bashkirs, Udmurts, Buryats and other communities, even the smallest, are not national minorities. However, if their representatives live not on "their own" historically formulated territory, but among other peoples, then they are considered to be national minorities there. For example—Bashkirs or Chuvash in the Ukraine.

Thus, in the opinion of the author, it seems that by the term national minorities we should understand the lesser part of a nation or people of a different ethnic community of people. First of all: those who live beyond the boundaries of their selected form of self-determination or beyond the boundaries of the basic part of their ethnic

community, which has no form of self-determination; [those who live] among people of a different nationality who may or may not have their own statehood. Secondly, those who have nevertheless retained their national self-awareness, culture, everyday customs, traditions, and language of the main part of their ethnic community. However, we must specify that this concept of national minorities and the term itself live, act, and "operate" under definite historical conditions. In our country, in the opinion of the author, this was the time of struggle for the overthrow of czarism, the time of the socialist revolution and the time of laying the foundation and the basics of socialism. Therefore, the question arises: how applicable is the term "national minorities" under conditions of the current development of national relations, or did this term cease to exist and to be officially used in the late 30's, i.e., when, in the opinion of the author, the problem of the national minorities was resolved?

In the first decades of Soviet rule, the tasks of political, legal and actual equalization of all nations and peoples were resolved, and some of these peoples were simply saved from extinction. Today there are new tasks facing us, tasks of a somewhat different order, although they include political, legal, and social aspects alike. Therefore, the author affirms, today it is better to use the term "citizens of non-native nationality", which was mentioned in the materials of the 26th Party Congress.

This term has a single meaning. It does not require additional interpretation if we assume that native nationalities are those who have given their name to any form of national-state self-determination. This term, L. Boltchenkova points out, most precisely reflects the essence of the problem: citizens of a national-state formation must in fact have equal rights and realize them in economic and political as well as in social and cultural life. And such equality is being maintained. However, the Communist Party sets the task of maintaining this equality fully, always and everywhere. We have not yet reached this level. Nevertheless, the events of recent years show that national relations demand constant rather than episodic attention. This gives us reason to affirm that there is such a question in national relations which is retained, although in a new form, from one stage to the next. The words "resolved conclusively and irreversibly" cannot be used in regard to it. It must always be kept in view, always, as long as the multi-national make-up of the state exists.

Yet the term "citizens of non-native nationalities" has a special connotation. It may be used to specify and express tasks in the sphere of provision of specific demands and interests of citizens of a multi-national region. However, the book's author stresses, this term is applicable, for example, in describing the basic parts of a new historical community—the Soviet people. We cannot say that the Soviet people are comprised of nations, peoples and citizens of non-native nationality. Citizens of non-native nationalities may be Ukrainians in

Kazakhstan, Russians in Kirghizia or in Lithuania. Yet the Soviet people consist of the Russian, Georgian, Lithuanian and other nations, regardless of which republic's territory the citizens of these nationalities live on. Germans, Koreans, Poles, Kurds, etc. are all a component part of the Soviet people, 7.5 million people in all, most of whom live abroad. The latter, if we speak of the component parts of the Soviet people as a new community of people, are called national groups (cf. p 177). Since they are citizens of the USSR, such national groups in no way differ in their legal status from others, including the citizens of non-native nationalities living among people of different nationality. However, the forms of work among them can and must be different.

What purpose does the term "citizens of non-native nationalities" serve? At the present time in our country, all the prerequisites have been created for equal life of citizens of any nationality. The question now becomes one of the actual recognition of these rights and the satisfaction of such demands of the citizens which stem from their national peculiarities, if they do not live on "their own", historically formulated territory and if, figuratively speaking, the protection of their national interests depends to a large degree on subjective moments and party-soviet organs of a national republic.

Thus, the book's author L. F. Boltchenkova justly points out that the question of terms in the sphere of national relations must be approached dialectically. Each stage in the development of certain aspects of national relations has its own corresponding term. With the solution of a certain problem, the need for application of the appropriate term also disappears.

We must note that the book "Internationalism In Action" is interesting for readers not only because of its broad and in-depth clarification of the given questions. Based on an analysis of the practical activity of the party-Soviet organs in the period from 1917 through 1936, it exposes the process of solving the problem of national minorities in the USSR as a specific question of national relations. The book will be read with interest by social scientists, by people interested in the history of national relations, as well as by practical workers associated with the solution of these problems today.

Draft Ukase on Use of Lithuanian, Other Languages Discussed

Readers Discuss Draft Ukase

18000361b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
2 Dec 88 p 4

[Letters from SOVETSKAYA LITVA readers on the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's draft ukase on the use of Lithuanian and other languages]

[Text]

Why Argue?

This letter is from the 10th grade students at Secondary School No 36. We love our homeland—Soviet Lithuania—very much. We are proud of its people, its glorious historical past, its present and its future. In many of our personal libraries you will find books by S. Neris and Yu. Martsinkavichyus, Y. Avizhyus and Ye. Simonaitis, V. Petkavichyus and L. Zilinskaitė, F. Belyauskas and E. Mezheletis, P. Tsvirki and V. Mikolajis-Putinas, and V. Bubnis...

We do not understand why adults argue over an indisputable fact—that the Lithuanian language must be the state language. We would like to know where, when, and by whom Russian was ratified as the state language for the entire country. We were always taught (Russian language textbook for the 7-8th grades, No 59) that Russian is the language of international communication of the USSR peoples. It states there that: "The USSR is a multinational state. All the peoples living there have equal rights. All of them develop their own national cultures and languages on the basis of the multinational policy implemented by the party. There are 130 languages spoken in our country. Russian stands out among them as the language of international communication and cooperation of the USSR peoples... Under conditions of fraternal friendship of the Soviet peoples, their languages develop on the basis of equal rights and mutual enrichment".

We vote that every Russian living in Lithuania must know Lithuanian. However, this should not be implemented by force. Rather, it should be a need, a necessity for the soul and the mind. At the same time, every Lithuanian must have the same respect for the language of international communication.

*Written at the request of the students of class 10B by
Acting Class President Igor SILIVONCHIK.*

Let Us Show Concern By More Than Just Words

Starting in the 1988/89 instructional year, the republic's Russian language schools have begun teaching Lithuanian in instructional groups. This is a very correct decision, because it is difficult to master a language when there are 36-38, and sometimes more, students in the class. Undoubtedly, it is now easier for the teacher to work, but has the instruction of the subject become more effective than it had been for decades?

A student, a blackboard, and chalk—that is all that the teacher has at his disposal. There are no sets of visual instructional aids, no records, and no tables. Yet even this would not be enough for serious language instruction. Audiolingual labs are needed, and it would not hurt to look into the possibility of organizing instructional television broadcasts for students of all classes which would utilize elements of entertainment, and for the younger classes—animated films, stories, etc.

The Lithuanian language textbooks for Russian schools look very bleak with their black-and-white illustrations. Publishers should also give some thought to this question.

Today we often hear complaints about the shortage of Lithuanian-Russian and Russian-Lithuanian dictionaries. It is true that the subscription for the 4-volume Russian-Lithuanian dictionary (compiled by Kh. Lemkenas, Ya. Kardelis, Y. Matsaitis, and A. Mankavichene, "Mokslas" publishers, Vilnius, 1982-1985) was open, but many, we believe, were put off by the cost of the publication: 26 rubles, 40 kopeks. At the present time we need less expensive publications, for example such as the "Russian-Lithuanian Phrase Book" (compiled by V. P. Stashaytene), which has gone through 6 editions. Its price is 60 kopeks, and it includes 39 topic-sections: "Mail", "Department store", "Consumer services", "Points of interest in the city", etc. Every student should have the opportunity of acquiring a Lithuanian-Russian and Russian-Lithuanian school dictionary (subscriptions may be organized through the school libraries).

We much teach the children Lithuanian in school, so that later there will be no reproaches or difficulties in their everyday life.

The newspaper TARYBINIS MOKYTOJAS (No 85, dated 21 October 1988) published a note by Vilnius cultural worker D. Garlyauskene. She writes: "Instruction in Russian in the higher school is not a democracy, but a disservice, an echo of the times of Stalinism and stagnation. If we want to be democratic, we will create equal conditions for entrance to all students. The Lithuanian language exam must be given everywhere and for everyone within the content of the school program. Other subjects may be answered in the native language. Advanced instruction in the higher school should be **only in Lithuanian**"...

We can hardly agree with this proposal. In this connection, we suggest that Point 9 of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's draft ukase entitled "On the use of Lithuanian and other languages" be written as follows:

"Children's preschool institutions and secondary schools will be created for non-Lithuanian speaking republic residents. **Conditions will be created for instruction at vocational-technical schools, technikums, and VUZes to be conducted in Russian**".

Such a state of affairs has been and is the case in the republic, and we see no need for its radical change. We believe the assurances presented at the 10th session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet by Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Deputy Chairman V. Klikenė, who stated that "the status of the Lithuanian language will not infringe on anyone's rights".

More Letters on Draft Ukase

18000361b Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
8 Dec 88 p 1

[Letters from SOVETSKAYA LITVA readers on draft ukase on language usage: "Opinions, Suggestions"]

[Text] Point 2 (Paragraph 2) of the draft states that enterprises, institutions and organizations now conducting their internal business affairs in Russian will gradually change over to Lithuanian, in the order established by the republic's government. Nevertheless, I am convinced that it would be appropriate and expedient (in accordance, we might add, with the Law on the Enterprise) to place a comma instead of a period at the end of this paragraph, and to add: "coordinated in each individual case with the administration and the labor collective council".

Similarly, in my opinion, we should introduce a correction also into the first paragraph of Point 3, which deals with business correspondence between organizations. Should we categorically order them (all without exception!) to use only the official state language, i.e., Lithuanian? How many Russian-Lithuanian translators would have to be introduced into the staff?! And where will we all at once get so many typewriters (telexes, teletypes, etc.) with Lithuanian script?

Please do not misunderstand me. I am concerned by the purely practical aspect of the question, the reality of the given demands of the law under review. Will this requirement of the Ukaz not turn into a purely propagandistic slogan poorly integrated with reality and with the specific possibilities for its fulfillment? How many such well-intentioned appeals and declarations have there been in the stagnant past, which have remained only on paper...

Therefore, I propose that Point 3 be supplemented with the phrase: "Correspondence in Russian is permitted until the given enterprise or organization is able to make the transition to conducting business in the state language".

Regarding Point 6, which deals with the unconditional necessity of all managers without exception (of any description and rank) to have a mastery of both Lithuanian and Russian. If we base ourselves in reality, then it seems to me that after the word "must" we should insert the words "as a rule". And, at the end of the first sentence in this point it would not be out of line to insert the phrase: "The necessity of an economic manager's knowing both languages is determined in each individual case by the labor collective which elects him to a position not directly associated with public service".

Taking this opportunity, I would also like to express the idea concerning the use of language not in business spheres, but in the sphere of preschool training and education. The draft ukase presents the idea of linguistic

delimitation of children's preschool institutions. Yet do not such institutions of a mixed (in the sense of bilingual) type have the right to exist? In my opinion, bilingual kindergartens, for example, fully correspond to the task of international upbringing of a child and his complete mastery of Lithuanian as well as Russian. I would specifically express this in the law, and in practice I would create such kindergartens, at least wherever this is possible and beneficial.

O. KREMNYEV, VNIIRIP section chief, Vilnius.

We consider it fully justified that the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic is speaking out at the union level in favor of each USSR people's retaining their language, self-sufficiency, and culture, and in favor of the true equality of all citizens regardless of their national affiliation. This not only corresponds to the resolution of the 19th CPSU Conference on international relations, but also to the essence of current civilized, humane, and democratic society.

However, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's draft ukase, "On the use of Lithuanian and other languages", does not fully correspond to the above-mentioned principles. The parents of children educated in schools where Russian and Polish are the languages of instruction make a significant contribution to the creation of the Lithuanian SSR's national income, part of which is directed toward the development of public education. Therefore, we propose that the following supplement be introduced into the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's ukase: "Citizens of the republic receiving their education in schools where Russian and Polish are the languages of instruction are guaranteed the right of receiving special and higher education in these same languages".

Without the introduction of this supplement, we cannot speak about real equal opportunities for all citizens of the republic for receiving an education.

V. AMBARTSUMOV, G. KURCHEVSKIY, written at the request of the teacher's collective of Vilnius Secondary School No 55.

Why does the draft ukase not make mention of the Polish language? After all, there are no more or less than about 300,000 residents of Lithuania who speak this language (and often also write it)!

I propose that Paragraph 2 of Point 1 state the following: "Russian, Polish and other languages are also used in the Lithuanian SSR on conditions of equal rights with Lithuanian". Paragraph 2 of Point 2 should state that "enterprises and organizations will change over to conducting business in Lithuanian at their own discretion as the objective conditions for such a changeover become ripe".

In order to avoid a sharp "erosion" of workers of non-Lithuanian nationality who do not yet speak Lithuanian at enterprises and institutions after the adoption of the proposed ukase, it is necessary, in my opinion, to specify a definite period during which the Russian or Polish speaking population of the republic, for example, will have time to master the language of the native nationality. I believe a period of 5-7 years would be acceptable.

While I have the opportunity, I would like to express a thought which, perhaps, is inappropriate in the ukase, but which nevertheless deserves the attention of the state and ideological institutions. Is it fair that our Lithuanian language radio broadcasts from morning to night, but the Polish language broadcast is only a half hour a day? The television broadcasts are even fewer—half an hour a week.

Since the republic has undertaken the task of regulating national and international problems, we must resolve these questions (difficult and delicate questions!) specifically and in all fairness.

YE. TUMAS, *Neringa Association, Vilnius.*

Our labor collective believes that the demands of Point 6 of the draft ukase—"managers and other management workers... of enterprises, institutions and other organizations must have a mastery of Lithuanian and Russian"—is incompetent without the appropriate amendments to the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). After all, this law, establishing selectivity of managers of enterprises, shops, sections, or sectors, or foremen and brigade leaders, does not require that those elected necessarily know several languages.

Only the labor collective itself can justly set such a requirement in individual cases (when this is not only desirable, but also necessary!), and with consideration for the specifics of the type of production and the specific social-democratic situation. Therefore, at the request of our enterprise collective, I am presenting the following proposal: To delete the words "enterprises, institutions and other organizations" from the first phrase of Point 6 of the draft, and to delete the comma after the preceding two words "public organizations". Also, to insert after this phrase the following proposal: "The need for a command of Lithuanian and Russian by a manager of an enterprise, institution or some other organization is predetermined in each individual case by the labor collective in the course of electing the candidates to the management positions".

V. BOGDANOV, *chairman of the Zapremavtomatika Experimental Plant Labor Collective Council.*

Rehabilitation of Lithuanians Deported in 1941-1952

Ukase on Rehabilitation

18000192 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
22 Oct 88 p 1

[Ukase on the "Rehabilitation of People Deported From the Lithuanian SSR During the Period 1941-1952" issued by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 21 October 1988]

[Text] With a view toward eliminating the consequences of violations of socialist law during the period 1941-1952 and guided by the principles of socialist humanism, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR resolves that:

1. The deportation of people from the territory of the Lithuanian SSR which was carried out during the period 1941-1952 on the basis of unconstitutional resolutions by administrative agencies is considered illegal and unjustified and these people are declared rehabilitated.
2. The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR is instructed to determine procedures for notifying citizens of their rehabilitation and for reimbursing them for material losses.

Commission to Provide Housing, Return Property Formed

18000192 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
30 Oct 88 p 2

[ELTA Report: "At the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] With a view toward coordinating efforts to return property and allocate housing to people whose deportation from the republic has been declared illegal and unjustified and who have been declared rehabilitated, the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR has established a republic-wide commission.

Members of the commission are: P. Ignatas, Chairman of the LiSSR Council of Ministers (chairman of the commission); A. Bakutis, Chief of the Organizational and Instructors Department, Administration of Affairs, LiSSR Council of Ministers; A. Baranov, Deputy Chief of the Department for Administrative Agencies, Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania; V. Zhyamgulis, Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs, Lithuanian SSR; V. Kumpa, Chief of the Administrative and Legal Department, Administration of Affairs, LiSSR Council of Ministers; G. Pavirzhis, Chief of the Department for City Management and Preservation of Resources, Administration of Affairs, LiSSR Council of Ministers; D. Suboch, Legal Advisor for the Vorkutaugol Production Association; A. Ushanovas, Chief of Administration, Ministry of Labor and Social Security; A.

Chepaytis, Deputy Minister of Finance for the republic; and Professor Yu. Yuzelyunas, member of the Seim Council, Lithuanian movement for perestroyka. (Lithuanian Telegraph Agency)

Republic-Wide Club To Help Former Deportees, Political Prisoners

18000192 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
30 Oct 88 p 3

[ELTA report: "Meeting of the 'Tremtinis' (Exile) Club"]

[Text] The stage of the gymnasium was draped with a dark, funeral cloth today. The "Tremtinis" (Exile) Club met in the city's largest hall today. Participants payed homage to the victims of Stalinism by observing a moment of silence. Brothers in destiny from the cities and villages of Lithuania reviewed a list of club activities.

The club, which is creating branches in all regions of Lithuania, will work to improve the living conditions of former exiles and political prisoners; to provide legal consultation; to try to help those who still live in Siberia or the North to return to Lithuania; to gather information about those who were exiled, those subjected to repression, those who perished, and those who emigrated abroad in order to determine the scale of the Stalinist terror and the number of victims; and to organize expeditions to places of exile in order to look after the Lithuanian cemeteries there.

P. Ignatas, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers who spoke at the meeting, emphasized that the republic's leaders are obligated, not only to listen to the suggestions and wishes of those who suffered from the terror, but also to do everything possible to compensate those who have been wronged. Simply to declare that the terror was a crime against the Lithuanian people is not enough. Justice must be restored.

R. Rimaytis, first secretary of the Kaunas Party Gorkom, and P. Stashkunus, chairman of the Executive Committee of the City Soviet of Peoples Deputies, took part in the meeting of former exiles.

Case for Independent Lithuanian Republic Currency Argued

18000302 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
6 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by A. Terlyatskas and V. Baldishis, teachers on the faculty of finances and credit at Vilnius State University: "Is there An Alternative to a Republic Currency?"]

[Text] Economists in the Baltic area are actively working today on the creation of a concept for the economic sovereignty (economic accountability) of the republic. In doing this, disputes are arising particularly regarding the

question of currency. Some assert that republic economic accountability is also possible with the present currency system; others, to the contrary, are demonstrating that, without the organization of an independent money turnover within the republic, economic independence is no more than pretty words.

We believe that, without a real currency, radical economic reform is impossible, because our ruble is incapable of completely fulfilling the functions of a currency. Using such a pseudo-currency, we cannot create an effective system of economic incentives, cannot unleash the initiative of the workers. The catastrophic situation in money turnover has been discussed more than once from the highest tribunes. Decrees and complex programs have been passed, but the situation with regard to money turnover continues to worsen. The ruble continues to lose value, with all the social and political and economic consequences that this entails.

In order not to make unsubstantiated statements, we will present some data. The balance of the past year shows that, during this period alone, 11 billion totally unsecured rubles were poured into the realm of circulation (NEDELYA No 35, 1988, p 7). It was not so long ago that we began to speak openly of our budget deficit, although it has existed for a long time. For 1989, a budget was approved with a deficit of 35 billion rubles, although a deficit three-fold larger is envisaged. It will be covered by an additional issue of currency. This is confirmed by the plan for next year, which sets an increase in the population's monetary incomes that is twice as high as the size of the increase in national income.

One asks how, with present methods of budget formation and ways for covering the deficit, we will be able to normalize currency circulation. And what to do about the unsatisfied demand that has built up within the population? The stable tendency for a more rapid growth of deposits in relation to the consumption fund, in particular, points to accumulation in the form of savings from unsatisfied demand. This coefficient amounted to 28 percent in 1965, and by 1985 deposits by the population had already exceeded by 5-fold the accumulation fund.

In order to successfully carry out economic reform, we need a real currency today and not in the indefinite future. What kind of guarantees can there be that the ruble will become sound? What do the scholars suggest?

In an article entitled "The Sphere of Circulation: Paths of Radical Reform" in the journal KOMMUNIST (No 14, 1988), Moscow economists V. Belkin, P. Medvedev, and I. Nit made a proposal. It sets forth a concept for so-called complex reform of the sphere of circulation. This concept deserves special attention, as its authors, using the tribune of this authoritative journal, openly pretend to indisputable truth and, without any discussion, are striving to "set up" their "complex program" in

all the Baltic republics. The authors propose to restrict themselves only to changes in wholesale trade and the cash-less turnover of enterprises and organizations.

The concept that is being set forth ignores the unified nature and the close mutual relationships of two components of a money turnover that is unified by its nature (cash and cash-less). It talks only about changes in the cash-less turnover of economic organs. However, one of the main shortcomings of the presently operating system of organizing and regulating monetary circulation within our country is precisely the artificial, administrative differentiation of a single money turnover. The authors simply ignore the catastrophic situation in cash circulation. The unsatisfied demand of the population has accumulated for decades in our country; under such circumstances, the assertion that "the start of wholesale trade in the means of production will exercise a positive influence on the balance of the consumer market, on the living conditions of millions of people, inasmuch as it will provide serious incentives for increasing the productivity of labor and increasing the output of goods for which there is a demand," is naked propaganda. One asks, where does the unsatisfied demand of the population, which is having a destructive influence on the market and the system of material incentives, evaporate to? How in these conditions will the consumer be able to evaluate the work of the producers? If it would be sufficient to proclaim that "for normal functioning of the market (...) it is necessary to do away with the monopoly of the producer" (p 38) and that then everything will change at once, we would long ago would have had a more or less decent market, and not a caricature of one.

The assertion that, in cash-less turnover, "convertible" currencies will completely supplant present payment means is unsubstantiated and is not supported by analysis of the structure of money turnover, which will depend upon the structure of social production. It is necessary to have in view that, at the present time, about 75 percent of the total volume of industrial production is produced by enterprises belonging to Group A. Consequently, so-called "convertible" currencies, even purely theoretically, will be able to cover payment turnover only by 25 percent.

The task which confronts us of increasing the role of money as an incentive requires elimination of the administrative division of monetary turnover and a transition to a single ruble. The conception which we are examining proposes to go in the opposite direction. World practice in the organization of money turnover knows no similar precedents.

The authors of the article justifiably note that, when imposing restrictions of payment funds and taking excess money from the enterprises, "under the existing system of their formation, payment funds will soon once again turn out to be in abundance." But the reform they are proposing does not provide any kind of guarantees that such a practice will not be repeated. To the contrary,

all the prerequisites for their preservation remain. The creation of conditions for normal money turnover will depend directly upon turning our economy head over heels, i.e. a transition to economic methods of regulating economic life. These two problems are closely interrelated. Money turnover is indeed a reflection, a special kind of barometer, of the country's economic turnover. Therefore, it is impossible to organize normal currency circulation throughout the entire country simultaneously. On the other hand, economic methods and regulation without a real currency is an empty sound, an illusion.

As a whole, the conception does not contain realistic and justified ways of getting out of the situation which has developed. Its basic shortcoming consists in the fact that it is based on an erroneous methodology, one which gives priority to the sphere of circulation and ignores the mutual connections and mutual dependence of all spheres of the single process of reproduction. It is necessary that, in the nearest future, data concerning the qualitative parameters of the country's money turnover be declassified. While these remain secret, there cannot even be talk about a normalization of the country's financial situation. In such circumstances, there is an absence of any kind of possibility of analyzing whether the monetary policy of individual departments is right and well-founded. Such a situation not only frees the hands of "specialists" to solve problems at the expense of the workers, but also encourages them to do so.

Other proposals that have been advanced (checks, a collective currency for several republics) do not solve the problem. A collective currency will only narrow the limits for administrative redistribution of savings created by individual republics. It is not difficult to understand that utilization of accounting [raschetny] checks in cost accounting republics cannot solve the problems which have accumulated, because checks—are a surrogate for currency.

Thus, is there an alternative to our own currency? We simply do not see one, although we have nothing against the ruble as such. We would like to emphasize particularly that the question of having our own currency is purely an economic one. If there were an alternative, this question would disappear on its own.

Only one way out can be seen—to restore economic sovereignty to the republics and to introduce economic accountability of regions. Only then will we be able to raise the effectiveness of our economy, to really improve the conditions of people's lives. For this, it is necessary to free ourselves from leveling and the administrative redistribution of incomes, to create an effective system of material incentives and for creating interest on the part of the workers.

Republic economic accountability and currency in no way mean economic seclusion and a severing of the ties that have developed. To the contrary. A clear example is

comparison of the practice of trade on the basis of cards and coupons with normal trade. Here it is appropriate to recall as well a statement by K. Marx: "Money itself is a social bond (...) and does not suffer any other social bond above itself" (Collected Works, vol. 46, part 1, p 167). K. Marx cautioned: "There, where money itself is not the basic social bond (...) it inevitably corrupts the existing social bond" (ibid., p 169). Our own practice convincingly confirms his thought.

Unofficial, Official Coordination Urged for Ust-Kamenogorsk Ecology Work

18300269a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 1 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by Ust-Kamenogorsk Television Studio Editor Ye. Zagranichnaya: "The Crab and the Pike"]

[Text] Many Ust-Kamenogorskites no doubt remember the "ecological meeting" held on Komsomol Island. It became the first splash in the awakening of the social activeness of the city-dwellers. The people went beyond the bounds of the meat and sausage problems (although they too are spoiling the people's lives), and asked themselves the question: What awaits all of us tomorrow and in the near future—living nature or a featureless "environment"?

Since that time nearly half a year has passed.

The oblast newspaper regularly publishes materials on the state of the air quality and the rivers. The information in them is highly alarming; but...we've already become inured to it. The figures which were pronounced in thundering tones at the meeting have lost their initial sharpness, and have become the "norm."

All right, what about those "disturbers of the peace," the members of the initiative group of young ecologists? Marina Khalepa, one of the leaders, now already a "former" leader, relates:

"We have only ourselves to blame for the fact that the group has broken up. We were able to "raise up a wave," and at times a very high one; but we were not able to carry on the day-to-day work. Nor did any specialists come to our aid, who could have helped us work out a clear-cut program. Therefore, all we had were clamorous meetings and emotions, all wrapped up in dilettantism."

That's actually the way it was, but... Specialists, the lack of which Khalepa decries, we have aplenty in the Public Council on Ecological Problems, which has been active in Ust-Kamenogorsk for almost two years. The council boasts nine candidates of science alone on its rolls. Then what kept these "ecologists" from giving their support to the group? Ambitions and completely unjustified skepticism in their older "colleagues." It all started out at a

spanking pace: you put a group together, gather materials on the environmental situation and on the sickness rate of the population of Eastern Kazakhstan, and then—"You call a meeting!"

Well, then what?

Here the young ecologists could have combined forces with the public council. But neither the one nor the other took a single step to get together. The public council accuses the young people of naked criticism and a complete lack of professionalism. The latter, in turn, reproach the council for its inertia.

True, its activity on ecological problems did not have as much resonance as did the meeting organized by the group. On the other hand, the council was able to work out a great number of constructive proposals.

The professional ecologists who have come together in the council demand that the citizens of the oblast be informed about when, where and what construction is planned in order that they might be able to participate in discussion on these projects. In the future it will take up the planning of a regional scheme of rational utilization of natural resources and protection of the environment.

People are kindly disposed toward the public council, follow them attentively, and even give them a pat on the back: Well done, boys! But that's all.

And so it turns out that the "initiators" (from the former group their remain only small "splinters"—in the local teachers' college) and the public council, having the same goal, are approaching it each in their own way. But why should not both one and the other rally around the recently-established oblast committee of Goskompriroda [State Nature Preservation Committee]?

Lithuanian 'Greens' Fault Environmental Protection Society Leadership

18300269b Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 2 Dec 88 p 3

[Article by Lithuanian 'Greens' Plenum Participants A. Brazauskas, A. Abromavichyus and I. Ioninas: "We Want to Act"]

[Text] They weren't especially happy to see the "Greens" at a scientific conference organized by the Environmental Protection Society, much less at the society plenum. Although women with green armbands (not to be confused with the good people of "Sadayus") were standing at the door, gazing critically at the young participants, we still managed to hear all the speeches, both at the conference and at the plenum. It was already clear at the conference (which was divided into four sections) that we needn't be surprised at the large number of speakers shown in the program, nor at the variety of topics. In the third section, for example, instead of 31 speakers there were 16; and in the fourth, two instead of six.

Over the summer months we'd already gotten used to the sight of thousands of people gathering at all the ecological events, without any special invitation or summons whatsoever, having found out about it from one another. But not half the members of the council were present at the society plenum. Also surprising was the formal, bureaucratic tone of certain speeches. Representatives of rayon departments of the Society read texts prepared in advance, and no voices were heard from the hall. Two basic problems were examined at the plenum: why did the workers on the environmental protection staff have such low wages; and why are the "Greens" so disrespectful?

We heard, that before anyone had even heard of the "Greens," the Environmental Protection Society had already conquered mountains—they had carried out measures, published environmental protection brochures, and had been looking after vacation spots in the most beautiful, made-to-order places in Lithuania. It was also brought out that a great many of the speakers had suffered greatly during the time of stagnation. And what's more, in their opinion, the unhealthy competition between the "Greens" and the Society would only cause damage to the cause. A compromise must be sought.

We reply: we are neither contending nor competing. We are doing what must be done now—which it will be too late to do tomorrow. As far as compromises are concerned, we reply with the dry figures from the reports of that portion of the plenum in which we were politely invited out of the hall.

As soon as Lithuanian SSR Lumber Industry Minister Vitautas Lukosyavichus left the post of society chairman because of his increasing work-load and retired, two candidates were nominated: Academician L. Kayryukshtis, director of the Lithuanian Lumber Industry Scientific Research Institute; and Academician A. Merkis, director of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences' Botany Institute. When the votes were counted, Merkis received 32 votes, and Kayryukshtis 21, for a total of 53. But we observed three glaring juridical violations in the voting: there was no quorum—109 voting members of the council should have participated; no commission was appointed to count the ballots; and the results of the voting were not confirmed.

Inquiries about a quorum emanating from the hall both orally and in writing remained "unnoticed." And the plenum hastily concluded its work.

And so just what kind of compromise were you suggesting to us, esteemed senior colleagues? To play at democracy and elections together, or to take an ecological expedition down the Neman? We do not want a semblance of action—we want to act!

The Lithuanian Environmental Protection Society has nearly half-a-million members. Among them are many honest people who are truly concerned about the ecological situation. Would they give their approval to such elections?

In addition, would not the conscientious members of the Environmental Protection Society agree, that a congress of the society should be called on an urgent basis? It was established at the plenum, that the regional departments of the Society are still presided over by nomenklatura workers, and not by environmental protection enthusiasts.

Local Authorities Obstructing Activities of Ryazan Ecology Groups

18300269c Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 17 Dec 88 p 2

[Article by Ryazan special correspondent S. Sokolov: "Prirodovoltsy"]

[Text] G. Merkulov, gorispolkom chairman: "You have no right to collect signatures. Everything should be decided by specialists!"

A. Popovskiy, member of the "5 June" ecological group: "And what is to be done with the 15,000 signatures of Ryazanites and the expert opinions of scientists, opposed to construction on the floodplain?"

"You have no right to collect signatures! They influence public opinion," said Gorispolkom Chairman G. Merkulov to engineer Sasha Popovskiy and student Natasha Ivanova, members of the "5 June" ecological-cultural group. (5 June is World Environmental Protection Day, celebrated by UNESCO, and was also day one of the very first ecological meeting in Ryazan.)

"It is not for us to know, how they will respond to our words," a poet wrote more than 100 years ago. The response of the gorispolkom chairman was a statement of charges from the police: "...citizeness Ivanova N.E. together with citizen Popovskiy A.I. of the initiative group "5 June," set up an exhibit with various agitational slogans, on the square at the entrance to the Ryazan central department store... Furthermore, the documents displayed in the booth were...filled with appeals from the so-called Alliance of Socialist-Federalists, which contained statements of a provocative nature. This act caused a throng of people to gather in a crowded place, and led to group reading and discussion of the aforementioned documents; that is, in essence, to a meeting, for which the organizers did not have the proper permission..."

On the whole, two administrative processes took place behind closed doors, at which Viktor Ivanovich Chikin, chairman of the Zheleznodorozhnyy District Court, fined engineer Popovskiy 250 rubles and student Ivanova 150 rubles, for violating the USSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium Decree, "On the Procedure for Organizing and Conducting Gatherings, Meetings, Street Processions and Demonstrations in the USSR."

They fined them in spite of the fact that no written ban on organizing public information posts was shown to the young folks; in spite of the fact that Popovskiy was brought to trial without a defense attorney, which Sasha had requested, and which he had every legal right to do. And in the case of Natasha Ivanova, the court did not call attention to the fact that the police statement of charges had been drawn up after the fact, two days after the events; nor to the fact that two days after that, a copy was made, which provided additional details on the "provocatory" statements.

But perhaps you too, just like Gorispolkom Chairman Merkulov and Judge Chikin, have no faith in the unofficial organization "5 June." What they have to say does not matter, right?

But look, for example, at what happened to an "official" social organization, the oblast Environmental Protection Druzhina, which had severely criticized the city administration, and also did not, it turns out, foresee the response elicited by its words. In Moscow, the *druzhina's* words led to a Certificate of Merit from the Komsomol Central Committee; but in Ryazan, they led to an order from I. Surkov, acting chief of the oblast DND [Dobrovolnaya Narodnaya Druzhina—Voluntary People's Militia], to abolish the Environmental Protection Druzhina. And if Judge Chikin ascribed merely statements of a "provocative nature" to the "5 June" ecological group, Ivan Pavlovich Surkov dealt more severely with the *druzhinniks*: "At their meetings, there were instances in which certain members of the *druzhina* uttered anti-soviet slogans."

"Just what were these slogans?" I asked at a meeting with Surkov.

"I did not hear them myself," answered Ivan Pavlovich, looking askance at the tape recorder. "These data are in the possession of Lt Col Kutrayev of the oblast Internal Affairs Administration. He heard them personally."

But when I inquired of the lieutenant colonel, he stated that he was not at the meeting, and that he heard all this from one of his subordinates. And that subordinate, as it happens, was away on a business trip...

In Ryazan the floodplain of the River Oka is dying—the water meadows, the "lungs" of the gaseous city, is a preserve area, a natural monument, under state protection. The fact of the matter is, that there are plans to place a sewage collector pipe right on the floodplain; for the city's wastes this is the shortest route to the sewage treatment plant. For a year now, Ryazanites have known who is who according to their unique password: the "floodplain" variant or the "tunnel"... Those fighting for the floodplain variant are on the whole city authorities;

those for the tunnel are the citizens of Ryazan, who have rallied around the Environmental Protection Druzhina, the "5 June" group, and the oblast department of the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments.

The "Greens" are pointing out that construction of a sewage pipe would turn the protected land into a swamp, and the slightest accident (which is altogether probable when the floodplain is covered with water) could lead to a discharge of filthy wastes which would be fatal for the Oka. The Ryazan society, which had collected 15,000 signatures from the citizens in a few days, is calling for rejection of the dangerous construction project, and are promoting their own alternative plan for laying down the collector pipe, which does not go through the floodplain, but by-passes the nature preserve—underground, by means of a tunnel. In Moscow such tunnels have been functioning reliably since the mid-1930's; in Kuybyshev and Saratov, since 1913; in Kaliningrad, since 1898; and in London, since the middle of the last century. An 800-meter tunnel would be ecologically safe; the cost of a tunnel would not be much greater than construction on the floodplain, and it would be possible to construct the tunnel in a year.

In Ryazan the executive powers are disregarding, with enviable lightheartedness, the expert conclusions made at the request of the "Greens" by Professor Ye. Pashkin, doctor of sciences; by Professor S. Chernyshov, a doctor of science, and a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Scientific Council and the International Association on Engineering Geology; and by N. Demin, chief of the Soyuztunnelstroy Association. And they are paying no attention to the categorical ban of the USSR Ministry of Culture and the Central Council of VOOPK [Executive Committee, All-Russian Environmental Protection Society]. The *gorispolkom* is basing its actions upon the expert conclusion of Candidate of Sciences G. Koff. After a whole series of provisos, the expert writes: "Only after fully implementing the stipulated measures for ecological safeguards, can construction of the collector be accomplished on the floodplain (in the absence of a sensible alternative)."

There is an alternative. But the citizens were able to find out the whole truth about it, and about the expert opinions of the professors, from one source—the information booth of the "5 June" group and the meetings of the Environmental Protection Druzhina. The slogan on the booth was logical—"What the Ryazan Newspapers are Not Writing About."

The newspapers were reporting that democratic discussions were going on everywhere in the working collectives about the floodplain and tunnel variants; but they were silent about the fact that the decision to build on the floodplain had already been taken long ago. Bulletins were distributed at the plants, which described the floodplain variant in near-lyrical fashion: "It is reliable; it will have no adverse effects on the environment; and

there are hardly any difficulties in construction." And what they had to say about the alternative was inexplicable: "Construction is impossible," citing the Ryazangrazhdanproekt [Ryazan Civil Planning] Institute, the author of the floodplain variant.

"And what will you order us to do, if right now the continuous 24-hour flow of raw sewage into the Oka were to reach 30,000 cubic meters per day?" asks O. Obozov, chief of the Main Administration for Architecture and Urban Construction of the oblast ispolkom, in a resounding voice.

"Is it not time to cease debating?" asks the oblast newspaper. It's time! The moreso, since the chief river-basin inspector at the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources recently ordered a halt to all new construction in the city, in connection with discharges into the Oka, totally disavowing the arguments of Oleg Vyacheslavovich [Obozov] and his fellow-employees.

It turns out that the collector, while important, is still a second-priority project. The main element in the city's sewage system has not yet been built—the purification plant. It is on that plant, and not the kilometer-long pipeline across the floodplain, that halting of the discharges into the river depends.

It turns out that of the 35 million rubles allocated six years ago for reconstruction of the entire sewage system, only a little more than 14 million has been assimilated. Moreover, out of the 15 million allocated directly for the purification plant, only one-fifth has been assimilated.

Six years have passed. Almost all deadlines have expired. And now, it is easier to accuse scientists of incompetence, and bring a student and a young engineer to trial, and to disband the Environmental Protection Druzhina, rather than admit one's own blunders. For now, the public, unfortunately, can only express its disagreement, find experts, and support an alternative variant. But it is not capable of technically implementing the design of its project.

But maybe we are all making things too complicated. After all, one cannot deny the obvious forever.

Not long ago, Valeriy Vasilevich Kryuchkov, a design engineer at Ryazangrazhdanproekt and one of the designers of the floodplain variant, crossed over to the side of the "Greens." In the final analysis, he and his children must live in this city. I am convinced that this is a sign. As little as three years ago no one from, for example, the many-thousands-strong collective of river polluters would have decided to exchange his bureaucratic well-being for spiritual peace. Together with one of his colleagues, Valeriy Vasilevich proposed to the "Greens" an engineering solution to the problem of the daily discharge of city sewage into the river. It was a

question of the possibility of redistributing the flow of city sewage lines. Is there a variant? Yes. But no changes are foreseen: everything had been decided in the ispolkom by last summer...

Incidentally, they say that the local authorities do not drink water from the Oka. A strong rumor is going about the city that in the area where the famous, well-built, multistory building stands, an artesian well has been dug, and that an ozone plant has been set up on the roof of that building. Moreover, the citizens are more inclined to accept this rumor for the truth than dispel it. They've learned. After all, they have long become accustomed to the fact that one cannot swim in Segdinskoye Lake, not far from the city. No, there are no piranha fish in it; the dachas of the oblast committee stand on its shores. And the perspicacious millionaires politely send vacationers packing, to the next lake—Chernenkoye.

Yes, and how can one not believe this, perhaps, absurd rumor, if a completely inconceivable thing can be documented and proven. In spite of the expert conclusions of scientists, which demand halting the city's access to the floodplain, the gorispolkom plans to build a major by-pass road on it. The collector? That was only the beginning; only a pretext. By order of the gorispolkom, the Giprogor [State City Planning] Institute has already worked out a plan for making improvements to the floodplain. The improvements consist of plans to build a sports complex there, as well as a lodge, schools, stores, a racetrack, a cafeteria, a purification plant, and a marina...

Bashkir Goskompriroda Chairman Meets Strong Bureaucratic Opposition

18300271a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Chairman of the Bashkir ASSR State Committee for Environmental Protection V. Safarov: "Control Without Authority: Self-Centered Bureaucracy is Obstructing the Solution of Ecological Problems"]

[Text] A union-republic committee was formed in 1988 which was supposed to concentrate the entire administration of environmental protection activities in a few hands. Yes, such a department exists. However, the formation of the new office is proceeding with some difficulty. The organization of a Goskompriroda was initiated in our Bashkir ASSR last August following the appointment of its chairman through a competitive selection process. It was presumed that in the new year the department would have the environmental situation on land, in the air, and in the water under control.

Yes, and the circumstances require us to hurry. We are called to effective action by alarming letters, telephone calls, meetings, and demonstrations by workers who are concerned about the difficult environmental situation in the autonomous republic. They really don't understand such explanations as: there already is an environmental

protection committee but at the same time there isn't one. The newly organized committee has been inactive only because it is only 20 percent operational. This means it primarily consists of section supervisors and a few laboratory specialists. The selection and organization of staff is being held up by the lack of...wages: The USSR Ministry of Finance has not set up the financing.

But even that is not the main thing. The principal problem is that the ministries and departments that were previously responsible for state control over environmental conditions don't want to give up these functions and are doing everything they can to impede the transfer of the corresponding services to the new committee. It is convenient for the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of the Fish Industry and other industry ministries and committees to have their own "pocket" inspections by which they would mainly control other departments thereby enabling themselves to treat the environment as they please without any real controls.

By hook or by crook the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources [hereafter referred to as *Minvodkhoz*] managed to get the approval of higher authorities to retain its basic functions for the control and regulation of water resource utilization and distribution within the national economy sectors, the establishment and observance of water consumption limitations, and the approval of conditions for the supply of water to newly located enterprises.

But surely this is nothing other than operative control over the adherence to limits and the inspection of national economy installations. This means that the old form of duplicating inspection operations which was supposed to be averted by the creation of a USSR State Committee for the Protection of Environment [*Goskompriroda*], will be retained.

I believe that it would be advisable for the *Minvodkhoz* to retain control over water surveys as well as water body limitations for river bodies, but not for national economy industries. Otherwise we will have the paradoxical situation whereby the regulation of fresh water bodies would remain in the hands of the *Minvodkhoz* and the regulation of wastes would be within the competence of the USSR *Goskompriroda*. But surely it is clear as day that these two problems cannot be resolved separately, since they constitute an integral problem.

The same type of absurdities and duplication as mentioned above were also evident in the delineation of control functions between the new committee and the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry which succeeded in retaining almost 90 percent of the control functions within its jurisdiction. State control over forest management and the rational utilization of forests was left to the USSR State Committee for Forestry [*Goskomles*]. But these very functions were simultaneously also entrusted to the USSR *Goskompriroda*. It appears that the authors

of that kind of separation of functions proceeded on the notion that a forest can exist on its own, apart from nature (the area of the *Goskomles*' responsibility), and that nature in turn is separate from the forest which is already a responsibility of the *Goskompriroda*.

In their decree of January 7, 1989 "On a Radical Restructuring of Environmental Protection Operations in the Country," the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers established that it is indeed the *Goskompriroda* which should be the central office of state management of environmental protection and natural resource utilization in the USSR, and it is already beginning to be criticized locally. After all, people were not aware of the fact that the decision had undergone significant "adjustments" as a result of backstage maneuvers on the part of the ministries and departments.

Certain departments, in order not to transfer their control functions and corresponding personnel, apparatus, and equipment to the new committee, hurriedly organized their own subdivisions to which they gave new titles. This had the self-serving purpose of keeping all the functions for themselves. Thus, the RSFSR Main Administration of Hunting and Game Preserves [*Gla-vokhota*] transformed the State Hunting Inspectorate of the Bashkir ASSR Council of Ministers into the Administration for Hunting and Game Preserves by converting a control office into a managerial one. The USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control [*Goskomgidromet*] had also earlier attended to keeping its own staff.

In that connection the republic committee for environmental protection is already unable to get laboratories from the Bashkir Hydrometeorology Administration for the purpose of controlling sources of atmospheric pollution. Under such circumstances how are we to implement the state control function that has been entrusted to us?

There is a total of 520 persons who make up the control services in the various departments of the autonomous republic from among whom the Bashkir *Goskompriroda* was supposed to be organized. So what do we have six months after the committee's existence? The difficult ecological situation in Ufa, Sterlitamak, and Salavat requires constant surveillance over pollution-free air and water.

And under these circumstances the analytical control service staff has been cut to 23 persons.

A staff of analysts tied down to such a bed of Procrustes makes it simply impossible to organize an efficient around-the-clock control over the condition of the air and sewage. Plans have been made to control soil pollution by chemicals and mineral fertilizers and to define the soil pollution radius around industrial installations. But this too may only be good intentions.

We have planned to institute radiological controls in the area of the republic in which a major nuclear power station is under construction. Those plans too will not be completed in the near future. One must ask then: How can we talk about the restructuring, indeed the radical restructuring, of environmental protection under such circumstances?

Departmental obstacles have resulted in the collapse of the set deadline for the committee's formation and have distorted its essence beyond recognition. One must admit that a role in this situation was also played by certain revisions in the decrees issued at the highest levels. It has not been customary in our country to criticize such decisions, but I must do so for the sake of explaining the truth of the matter. I have in mind decrees of directive organs concerned with the better utilization of our country's water resources in which case a number of clauses contradict each other. Such clauses make it possible for departments to evade the execution of those points of the decrees which deal with departments' transfer of functions and services to the Committee.

Bashkiriya is not the only place where this kind of situation has been created. The birth pangs of committees for environmental protection have been excruciating among our neighbors in Tatariya, Perm, the Kuybyshev and Gorkov oblasts, and in the Krasnodarskiy Kray.

Moreover, I emphasize that these are indeed artificially erected obstructions and hindrances on the road to a new authority, and constitute resistance to perestroyka. In this case it is the matter of restructuring environmental protection operations.

I write this letter in the hope that the broadly propagated glasnost that has been affirmed in our country will help put a halt and cut short the inordinate ambition of those who are so masterfully blocking the implementation of decisions adopted by the party and government by adapting them to their own narrow departmental interests.

**RSFSR Goskompriroda Officials Battle
Minvodkhoz for Personnel, Facilities**
*18300271b Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Jan 89 p 2*

[Article by L. Lukyanova, deputy editor of the Communist Education Department: "Stand Up for the Protector"]

[Text] The only extra-departmental authority—the State Committee for Environmental Protection—was instituted almost one year ago both on the national level and in the union republics. It is the only state protector of the land, rivers, lakes, seas, forests, flora, and fauna. Two months were required to form and establish local environmental protection offices. Two deadlines passed before the offices got down to business. How is the Goskompriroda getting up on its feet? I set off for the RSFSR committee which is the most solid republic committee

"We are not working but still negotiating with the departments," complained Chairman of the RSFSR Goskompriroda Aleksey Maksimovich Kovalchuk. "We are arguing about staff and our material base. In fact our system is being created from the staff members and fixed capital of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control [Goskomgidromet], the ministries of geology, fish industry, forestry, land reclamation and water resources, the Main Administration for Hunting and Game Preserves [Glavokhota], and the Agro-Industrial Committee. Each one of these organizations had previously performed environmental protection functions which have now been transferred to our committee.

The Council of Ministers has decreed that the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources [Minvodkhoz] should turn over to us only 65 percent of the personnel engaged in the protection of water resources. We kept on insisting that we needed a minimum of 80 percent of the personnel in order to begin that work on the local levels. We submitted to that decree and we accepted the personnel contingent defined by the Council of Ministers but I am still defending my position. And what about transferring to us an equivalent amount of fixed capital, if you please! However that has not been forthcoming, but they continue to negotiate and deliver continuous red tape. The "fish vendors" are in particular disagreement about the number of inspectors. But the Minvodkhoz which has an extensive network of well equipped reservoir administrations is still evading the execution of the government's decision."

"How precisely are the operative functions of the ministries and the new committee delineated?"

In answering this question, A. Kovalchuk cited the following figures:

"Twenty-two percent of the environmental protection functions have still been left to the Minvodkhoz and the rest has been transferred to us. However, performance of waterway surveys was among the principal functions left to the Minvodkhoz. We do not have the necessary computer technology and are not ready for this kind of work. But the "fish vendors" shared the following information with us: control over the habitat environs would be turned over to us, but they kept for themselves control over what lives and swims in the water. I think that such an arrangement is basically flawed since the fish resources have thus remained outside of state control. Glavokhota is holding on to its budgetary staff although the national parks have been transferred to us as have been jurisdiction over the Red Book, surveys of the animal kingdom, and supervision of departmental inspectors. Protection of the plant and animal kingdom is also our responsibility. It is only in the RSFSR that the

Glavokhota has been retained. So you see, a system of duplicated controls is being created! One more of our functions, operative control over the limits of water consumption, was quickly assigned to Minvodka. The purpose of that action is clear: Minvodka is forging a new link in the bureaucratic chain. It wants to be in charge of water usage and at the same time maintain control over the enterprises. This causes one to wonder: Why is departmental control being revived? In order to avoid state control."

"Unfortunately," added Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Environmental Protection M. Shvetsov, "we have not yet found any support in the RSFSR Council of Ministers, even though in the present case the problem does not concern equipment for departmental laboratories. And another thing is troubling: The well organized regional environmental protection services that have evolved within Minvodka are not active. The Goskomprirada doesn't even have information about this state of affairs. So far responsibility is the only thing with which the new office has been endowed. The former responsible authority, the Minvodka, has not allowed the new services to operate and has been reducing the staff of the hydrochemical laboratories and reservoir administrations since their functions have changed and there is practically nothing for these people to do."

The specialists together with the laboratories should be transferred to the new responsible authority as soon as possible. Everything is coming along smoothly on paper. But what is happening in fact? There has been a mountain of complaints from the chairmen of the oblsolkoms and the council of ministers of the autonomous republics to the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and they are all about the same thing, i.e., the central, oblast hydrochemical laboratories are not being transferred from the Minvodka system to the Goskomprirada.

"The most decayed equipment is being palmed off to us, where we get two safes and perhaps three retorts instead of a laboratory," A. Kovalchuk jested unhappily. "And the best laboratories are intentionally not even listed so that they remained unaccounted for on the books when our disagreement on the transfer of base materials was being reviewed at the RSFSR Council of Ministers."

"Does this mean the execution of the decision is being sabotaged?"

"Exactly! It is being revised," confirmed A. Kovalchuk and M. Shvetsov. "The decree has become cluttered with departmental instructions, orders, and agreement proceedings. By the same token the functions of our committee have become limited and the initial idea of creating an effective extradepartmental environmental protection agency is placed in doubt. Half-hearted decisions are impeding the establishment of the Goskomprirada."

Behind each decision one must find whose interest is at stake—someone's personal interest, departmental interests, or local interests. If it exists it will immediately become obvious. They explained frankly:

"There are highly placed fishing and hunting area enthusiasts in the national park regions. State controls would not allow an expansion of such areas as before. Therefore state controls are being duplicated by departmental controls. State interests are once again confused with personal interests. That very protection of fishing resources should definitely be transferred to the Committee together with inspection personnel, but so far that responsibility rests with the Ministry of the Fish Industry."

"They have 17,000 inspectors of all categories but only 700 have been transferred to us. Who will staff the committee's local operations?" literally groaned A. Kovalchuk. "We cannot start our work without personnel. There is only one chairman of a municipal committee for environmental protection in the industrial centers of the Urals and Siberia where the greatest environmental losses are being suffered. The Minvodka is now organizing reservoir industrial associations to which control laboratories are being transferred. But one might ask why are such laboratories being given to it? After all we are able to provide necessary analyses under leasing or contract conditions. Unfortunately, that does not make any sense either. The water-transport workers are still paddling the water to themselves." And he concluded: "I don't know what is happening... A committee was created, but in fact it is as if a state environmental service is of no use to anyone. That is my impression."

At the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources Deputy Minister O. Falileyev and Chief of the Main Administration for the Comprehensive Utilization of Water Resources B. Adesman were both bitterly offended as soon as learned of the conversation's topic.

"We are prepared to give the Goskomprirada laboratories that are even larger than they have requested! And here they are making some kind of enemies out of us." Then Oleg Mikaylovich started to enumerate the ministerial "good deeds": budgetary appropriations and staffing were granted and associates in the regions were maintained until the end of last year.

In short, in his opinion it would be more appropriate for the Goskomprirada to idolize the water and transportation workers!

"Where did they get the idea that we have 181 hydrochemical laboratories?" raged the deputy minister. "Who said we have 30 base laboratories. There was only a total of 23!"

The discussion about their disagreements drowned in emotions of indignation and exasperation. And already my conversation partners no longer wanted to continue to talk about the seven laboratories that were not included in the record books. But they should be discussed.

A. Kovalchuk made it known to the republic's government that the Minvudkhov refused to transfer 52 laboratories among which were 30 base laboratories, i.e., those located in the centers of the autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts. The Ministry wanted to divide up the material base among 37 laboratories which included 29 base laboratories. Even full equipment was included. This could only be explained by a desire to disband and destroy the currently operating control laboratory.

"If there were disagreements, then it was only with respect to forty laboratories," declared O. Falileyev. And he again stubbornly emphasized: "As regards the Ministry, we have no disagreement with Goskompriroda! Neither with respect to staffing numbers nor laboratories. No! The Council of Ministers has resolved all the disputes. The Ministry merely obediently executed what was prescribed."

So then it turns out that the Goskompriroda has again failed to note and appreciate the kindness of the Minvudkhov. What callousness!

"Did you at least find out if the Goskompriroda ordered its local committees to accept our laboratories?" toned in V. Adesman. "As of yesterday the committees had no such order! And we have a stack of telegrams from the localities that say they are not accepting a laboratory!"

True, there was no order about laboratory acceptances. But not because of sluggishness or incompetence on the part of Goskompriroda personnel. Their legal requests were not fulfilled simply because a unilateral order from the Minvudkhov cannot serve as the basis for the transfer of hydrochemical laboratories.

The rivalry lingers on. And the two conflicting sides are not the only ones to blame.

If a new committee is being created on the material base of existing departments by dividing the base, then it would be precipitous to assume that the division of property and staff would proceed amicably in an atmosphere of peace and harmony. A third referee is needed to decide to whom at by what dates such transfers should take place.

The environment is waiting, but the departments are negotiating.

Ministries Accused of Obstructing Goskompriroda Work in Latvia

18300294a Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH
in Russian 8 Dec 88 p 3

[Open letter by Doctor of Medical Sciences Professor K. Segleniyetse, Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor A. Losev, honored figure in science and technology in the LaSSR, Doctor of Biological Sciences Professor A. Maurin, honored figure in science in the LaSSR, Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor B. Mezghaylis and Candidate of Architectural Sciences G. Poltorak: "Open Letter to the Forum of Peoples of Latvia"; the authors request in a postscript that the honorarium be donated to the Latvian Culture Fund]

[Text] Dear delegates to the Forum of Peoples of Latvia! We, your electors, hope that you will discuss that which is painful and hinders us from moving rapidly along the path of restructuring from the point of view of nationwide interests and give your recommendations to the leadership and to public organizations, as well as all inhabitants of the republic.

The spectrum of opinion inevitably widens to the extent of the awakening from social apathy, growth in the activeness of the civilian point of view and the self-awareness of individuals and peoples. But whatever language we speak and whatever faith we profess, we have had and will have one thing in common. This is the food we eat, the air we breathe, the water we drink, our own health and that of our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren. These foundations of all the foundations of life are worsening. The pollution of the air, water and food with substances harmful to the health of people and everything alive is increasing. The growing pollution from power engineering is no less dangerous.

Latvia was among the top eight countries in Europe in the volume of per-capita industrial production by 1939. Production has increased by 57 times since then, and agriculture by just 1.8 times. This terrible distortion has been manifest since 1959 and has become one of the chief causes of the deterioration of our economy, the unsatisfactory support of the population of the republic with food, the rise in territories with crisis ecological situations and the worsening health and rising mortality rates of the population. In Riga, for example, according to data from comprehensive bio-indicators, the harmful impact of pollution has increased by almost five times over the last two decades. Here 60-80 percent of the overall quantity of toxic substances that are accumulating in the urban environment are discharged by industrial enterprises. The health of urban residents, especially newborns and their mothers, has worsened markedly over this period in Riga and other cities with ecologically harmful types of production (Olayne, Ventspils and Yurmala among others), while the number of casualties from the increased population mortality rates since the 1970s is wholly comparable to the number of soldiers of the Soviet Army that fell in battle with the

fascist occupiers on Latvian territory. The mutational effects of pollution, which are manifested in the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of today's parents in the form of genetic deformities (inbred idiocy and the like) poses an even greater danger. In the face of the overwhelming priority of industry, agriculture is unable to supply us with foods of value, which forces us to increase standards for allowable pollution for agricultural production using substances that are harmful to health (nitrates, for example).

The leadership of the republic, in order to rectify the extant abnormal situation, has decided on the priority development of agriculture in the future. This requires a redistribution of all resources (financial, labor, building materials, products and goods etc.), a freeze on the construction of new industrial enterprises and the expansion of existing ones that are not connected with the agro-industrial complex. The draft decree that has been published to limit the mechanical increase of the population envisages closing ecologically harmful types of production. Judging by appearances in the press, however, representatives of industry and the departments guilty of our woes are going over to the offensive. The declaration of an initiative group of administrators and representatives of the labor collectives of a number of enterprises in Riga essentially defends the current policy of the priority and extensive development of industry on the grounds that it supposedly provides over 50 percent of the national income of the republic. We would note that that indicator, according to statistical reference data for 1987, is actually three times lower. Even 17 percent is considerable for extensive production operating primarily using shipped-in raw materials. Of course, if we exact compensation from the industrial enterprises for the harm caused to the health of people and to other sectors of the national economy, in the current state of our production this percentage approaches zero.

Dear delegates! We hope that you will make an objective evaluation of such statements that defend departmental or group interests over nationwide ones. We also request that you appeal to directive organs with a demand for universal accessibility of economic, ecological and medical information. So that we can know in advance who and what is poisoning us and how it is specifically reflected in our health. Openness with such information as practiced in civilized states is an essential condition for public monitoring of the quality of state services (environmental-protection services, sanitation and epidemiological services and the like). The declassification of similar information is also essential to popular authority to optimize administrative decisions being made and monitor production activity and the execution of public expert analyses among other things.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree on a cardinal restructuring of matters of environmental protection in the country obliges all departments to transfer their environmental-monitoring subdivisions to the State Environmental Protection

Committee [Goskompriroda]. A number of departments (USSR Minrybkhov [Ministry of the Fishing Industry], USSR Mingeo [Ministry of Geology] and USSR Goskometekhnadzor [State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision] along with the agro-industry) have not as yet fulfilled this party and government directive, depriving the newly created Goskompriroda of the opportunity of implementing a true natural-protection complex. The continued departmental fragmentation of the functions of monitoring the state of the environment is a serious obstacle on the path to its revival.

The biosphere of the Earth is one, as is humanity. A wealth of inner harmonious diversity is the foundation of stability and development. Programs and plans for social development and the utilization of nature should have an all-round regard for the objective capabilities of the region and work for the enrichment of its social and natural complex, not its degradation and destruction. Group and departmental interests must be subordinated to nationwide ones as an essential condition for the survival of succeeding generations.

Latvian Academy of Sciences Reviews Republic's Ecological Priorities

18300294b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
10 Dec 88 p 3

[Report by LATINFORM correspondents V. Smirnov and S. Shpungin: "Facing Problems of Ecology—Session of the General Conference of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences"]

[Text] Scientists feel the sore spots in the ecology of the republic especially acutely. Many of them are sounding the alarm and calling for help for nature, which is barely resisting the onslaught of economic activity. The anxiety regarding the pollution of the biosphere was also reflected at a session of the general conference of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences devoted to these problems.

The director of the Institute of Microbiology imeni A. Kirkhenshteyn, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician R.A. Kukayn, presented a paper on the biological and social aspects of ecology. We are witness to a sharp worsening of the ecological situation, she said, caused by the extensive development of industry and agriculture, as well as erroneous depictions of the inexhaustible nature of natural resources. The problems of ecology today are a sphere of enhanced attention of the public. The workers of the republic have displayed high social activeness, for example, in the fate of the Daugavpils GES [hydroelectric power plant]. It was namely under the pressure of public opinion that the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers created a commission composed of scholars and specialists to conduct expert ecological and economic analysis of the technical plans for the construction of the hydroelectric power plant. The commission established that its construction was

economically unjustified and would lead to ecological disruptions in an extensive region of Latvia and Belorussia. Representative organs adopted a resolution halting the construction of the Daugavpils GES.

The strained ecological situation in the resort city of Yurmala is eliciting the especial concern of scientists and the public, it was said from the rostrum. There is no true master there and the resort is "chopped up" among many departments today, which is having negative consequences. Staff members of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography and the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Biological Institute carried out comprehensive research on the ecological situation in Yurmala in 1986-88. Here is just one fact: the human-induced load in many forest areas is reaching 600 people per hectare, that is, some 60 times established standards.

Academician R.A. Kukayn cited detailed data on the polluting effects of insufficiently treated sewage from the Slokskiy Cellulose and Paper Mill on the Lielupe River along with the decline in forest productivity and the dying off of timber in the area of the enterprise as a result of harmful discharges into the atmosphere. The further operation of the Slokskiy TsBZ under such ecological conditions is incompatible with the program for reviving the Lielupe and the resort city. The republic Council of Ministers has considered the commission materials and has appealed to USSR Minlesbumprom [Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry] and USSR Gosplan to halt the production of cellulose as of 1 Jan 89 and the production of paper as of 1 Jan 90, and to reconfigure the plant for this or that waste-free type of production.

The commission of scientists carefully traced the state of the Gulf of Riga within the confines of the resort city in the first half of this year and drew an extremely unfavorable picture. Major nodes of pollution of underground waters were established. And this is no accident: there is, after all, no unified sewage system and network of storm run-offs in Yurmala, while the treatment facilities are inefficient and do not correspond to the actual volumes of water flow.

Why are such ecological problems arising? References to their inevitability do not stand up to criticism, as was noted in the presentation. The industrial experience of the developed countries shows that an indissoluble link between technology and the ecology does not exist. In cases where adequate attention is devoted to protecting the environment, the development of technology does not lead to the destruction of nature. Japan can serve as an example, combining unprecedented industrial development with the preservation of the environment, as can Sweden, which is close to us in its specific natural and climatic features. The consumption of water, power, metals and other resources per unit of output in that Scandinavian country is considerably lower than in the USSR. Even the indicators we plan for the year 2005 do

not envisage the level of power and resource conservation that was typical of Sweden at the beginning of the 1980s. Over 90 percent of all sewage in that country, for example, is fully treated.

The basic cause of environmental pollution is the wasteful, non-comprehensive, extensive and low-efficiency utilization of natural resources. Their expenditure per unit of output is inordinately great. The power-intensive nature of material production here is triple the American level.

One fallacy of the mechanism of economic operation in effect consists of the fact that it is unprofitable for enterprises to convert to low-waste or waste-free technology, since that requires additional expenditures, is reflected in product cost and reduces profitability. It is much simpler to raise the profitability of production at the expense of free natural resources that are "no one's" and cheap polluting technologies. This was proven once again, said R.A. Kukayn, by expert analysis of the ecological situation in Olayne. The chemical enterprises there have polluted the air, soil and water over the course of two decades by not troubling with the efficient treatment of waste.

Another example of departmental activity destructive to nature is Ventspils, where favorable climatic and geological conditions have made it possible to create the largest fishing port in the republic. A large fish-canning combine operates there as well. In recent decades Ventspils has developed as a trading port which receives, among diverse export cargo, chemical products (a petroleum transshipment base, a portside plant and a complex for shipping potassium salts). These products are refined here as well. According to the data of Latgiprom [Latvian State Institute for the Planning of Industrial Enterprises], however, not one of the sector plans substantiating the necessity of creating such enterprises for the handling and refining of chemical products was offered for coordination. Planning was being conducted simultaneously with construction according to the cheapest variation and without regard for urban-development norms and rules or a comprehensive evaluation of the possible consequences.

And now a sharp worsening of the living conditions in the city for its inhabitants is being observed. They are justifiably alarmed by the constant releases and discharges of harmful substances, the danger of even larger accidents in transporting, shipping and storing chemically active products and the consumerist attitude and indifference to the needs of people on the part of the departments. The placement of ecologically dangerous enterprises in central Ventspils and the formation of the safety zones associated with them do not permit civil construction. There were no free labor resources in either Ventspils or in the republic overall for the construction

and operation of the portside plant and petroleum transshipment base. The increase in the productive potential of the coastal city has thus caused a large mechanical growth in the population and various changes in its ethnic structure.

All of this is the result of the irresponsible attitude of ministries and departments toward nature and the living conditions of people. It has been written in the constitution that the land, forests and natural resources are state property. But they in fact belong to no one, and the departments make use of them gratis. At the same time, the soviets of peoples' deputies have no legal mechanism for regulating the utilization of nature.

Cultivating ecological thinking is a most important task today, R.A. Kukayn emphasized. We have all been witnesses more than once as well-educated but ecologically unthinking specialists have ravaged nature. Many complex ecological problems are associated with errors in our world view and our view of nature as an inexhaustible treasury from which we can take endlessly without replacing the stores. It has become clear today that it is essential to be thrifty with the land, water and air—our living environment and the source of our welfare. Recall what was said in the universally adopted UN Worldwide Strategy for the Protection of Nature: "We have not inherited the land from our fathers. We are renting it from our children."

The deputy director for scientific work at the Institute of Biology of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, P.A. Tsimdinsh, offered a conception of the socio-economic development of the republic to the year 2010 in presenting her paper. She assumes the consolidation of the constitutional right of the Latvian SSR to economic sovereignty. The territory and natural resources, in the opinion of this scholar, should be entirely subordinate to the republic, which independently determines the procedure for their utilization. The national economy "should be oriented toward the model of the development of countries in a social-democratic direction in the Baltic region." The speaker stated that under the conditions of incomplete reproduction of the numbers of our population, the evolution of a hypertrophied industry and the scientific and technical consumer culture associated with it is impossible. Only those sectors for whose efficient operation there exist ecological and social preconditions are developed.

Some aspects of a program conditioned by the conception being advanced were next set forth. It was pointed out that it is essential to develop production complexes using territory already assimilated, ruling out the systematic concentration of the population and industry in populated rural areas. Production should be based on the application of "ecologically clean" equipment and technology. The economic advantages and status of the protected territories for homesteads that preserve the ecological welfare of the environment are proposed for consideration.

The medical problems of ecology were illuminated in detail by the chairman of the medical academic council of the Ministry of Health Care, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician A.F. Blyuger. These problems, he noted, directly concern every individual. Latvian medical scholars are carrying out an extensive comprehensive program that will make it possible to determine how chemical factors in environmental pollution affect the health of the population. Especial attention was devoted to Ventspils, Yurmala and Olayne, where systematic observations of chemical concentrations in various environments are underway. The results obtained are causing notice and are evoking great apprehensions.

Air samples taken in Ventspils, for example, show increased concentrations of ammonia, nitrous oxides, dust, nitrous dioxide and sulfur. The content of potassium salts in some cases was dozens of times more than the allowable norm. Is it any wonder that the rates of illness in bronchial asthma and other forms of allergies are on the rise, pathological pregnancy is becoming more frequent and congenital defects are becoming more common among children?

The interconnection of the environment and the health of people demands profound and all-round study. It is already well known, however, that many chemical compounds are invading the exchange of substances and the genetics of the organism, damaging the nervous, endocrine, heart-vessel and other systems and having a carcinogenic effect. Other examples could be cited. The latest outburst of viral hepatitis A that about a thousand residents of Riga suffered from was entirely and completely caused by pollution from Daugava sewage.

Today we are reaping the fruits of a shameless rape of nature and neglect of the interests of the population, the speaker asserted. Fines and sanctions by the organs of sanitary surveillance will not be enough to save the situation. We cannot suffer economic aggression, destroying the conditions for human existence, any longer. We must finally re-arrange from head to toe our attitude toward the sphere of ecology and planning the essential appropriations for it. The scholar called for a display of persistence and smartness in the adoption of certain urgent measures. They include the conversion to safe ways of employing pesticides, the re-configuration of the Ventspils port plant to handle less toxic chemicals, a ban on the shipment of powerful poisons through the capital of the republic in railcars and the orientation of treatment facilities now being constructed in Riga toward the latest technological achievements.

The director of the Institute of Biology of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, G.P. Andrushaytis, presented the paper "Chemical Applications in the National Economy and Ecological Safety." Over the last 20-30 years, he said, the development of the chemical industry and the widespread application of its products have been typical of the national economy. Some 60,000 substances are

utilized in various spheres. Their production is connected with the consumption of a large quantity of natural resources, especially water. The technological processes form byproducts that pollute the environment—the soil, the air and underground waters. Problems are arising in the utilization of solid and liquid wastes. The output of chemical substances makes special demands of transport: by-pass rail lines and new ports must be built for them. A special approach to urban construction is essential under such conditions, since extensive safety zones are created. The "ecology" industry must be developed at the same time along with the output of devices for cleaning air and water.

The scholar noted that especially widespread application of chemical substances is observed in agriculture. Their use is growing swiftly in Latvia: whereas roughly a million tons of mineral fertilizers were applied in 1958, last year it was up to 4.5 million tons. Some 990 tons of pesticides were used in 1961, while in 1986 4,743 tons were used, wherein the product range included 140 different types. The application of chemicals in Latvia considerably surpasses the average indicators for the developed countries of Europe and the United States.

The effects on the environment of the chemicals being used have grown appreciably, and their concentrations

in the soil and water, including the Baltic Sea, have risen. The chemical content exceeded the maximum allowable concentration in 5-7 percent of the analyses of agricultural output. The employment of chemicals is leading to the degradation of the environment and changes in the ecosystem, especially in water basins, as well as to the disappearance of some populations of animals and plants. Chemical substances entering the air, water and food have an effect on the individual, leading to the appearance of long-lasting diseases.

The necessity of a new type of evaluation of the situation—the determination of the degree of risk—for the realization of administrative and legislative measures has become acute, the speaker noted. The aid of a broad circle of specialists is needed here.

The discussion expanded after the papers. There have perhaps never been so many speakers, such emotional speeches and so many sensible and concrete suggestions at a general conference of the academy before. The people who have dedicated themselves to science have expressed their readiness to strengthen the struggle for the revival of the ecological situation in the republic, counting on the broad support of the public.

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